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رَبُّ العَالَمِين

"LORD OF THE WORLDS"

Charles Lamb's commendable idea of saying grace before reading as well as before eating—since a good book is no less a grateful and a gracious bounty than a welcome meal—should not perhaps be extended to quarterlies. For though, when bound, they make volumes, they do not always make literature, if only for the reason that, like the seasons, they have to appear whether they are ripe or not, while great literature, being spontaneous, cannot be commanded on recurrent dates.

Nevertheless, if graces can be said concerning journals, editorials are the obvious place to ponder and pray them. For here, whatever the varied fare that is to follow, it is our function to relate what these pages are about to God and His Kingdom and to express, as far as in us lies, the ultimate significance of what all our cares, scholarly and otherwise, are meant to serve. We must strive, in short, to put our whole Godwardness into words. This we have of late been seeking to do with the help of familiar phrases from the Qur'ān and Muslim devotion. So many lie to hand that their suggestiveness is unfailing. So let our grace this New Year address itself, both reflectively and devoutly, to the "Lord of the worlds"—the Divine title which, from the Fātiḥah, or opening Surah, reverberates throughout Islam. What are we to understand of the worlds over which He is Lord and what does His lordship signify within them?

The words call us surely, in keeping with all the insights of Islam, to recognize the unity of authority behind the plurality of phenomena, the sovereignty of the One above the multiplicity of the many. "Master of all creation" is one possible rendering: "Lord of all spheres and realms" another.

The verse does not content itself with the dual, the twin worlds of matter and spirit, body and soul, that figure so largely in Muslim exposition of the completeness of Islam. *ᶜĀlamīn* is the plural form, doubtless including the dual aspects, but suggesting the rich diversity of each of them, the endless manifoldness of the material from planets to atoms, and the bewildering wealth of the spiritual, with its worlds of truth and beauty, of reason and revelation, of justice and mercy.

Consulting the great Al-Baiḍāwī, commenting on the first of the forty-one occasions when the phrase occurs in the Qurᵓān, one finds the interesting suggestion that the word *ᶜĀlamīn* may refer to people, as well as to things in general. For in them, as in a microcosm, one may see the features, both substantial and accidental, which characterize tht whole created universe, in whose dependence the wise may read the evidence of God's power and glory. This view is sustained by frequent references to the revelation sent down as a warning and a guidance to the worlds. The patriarch-prophets, like Adam, Noah, Abraham, Lot and Ishmael, are described as having been chosen by God in preference to the worlds, or peoples, as the sense must be, who were around them. The meaning then is somewhat akin to the Gentiles, the nations, for whose total guidance the Arabic Book was sent into its particular context at Mecca and Medina.

The whole created universe then as the evidence of God's majesty and the whole community of mankind as the arena of His rule, these are the worlds. And the lordship? Here too Al-Baiḍāwī is no doubt a better guide than those who, following the freely ranging ideas of Iqbāl and his like, attempt to press upon the word *Rabb* areas of meaning, familiar enough to recent metaphysics, but far from the concern and genius of Semitic worship. The Lord is He Who fashions and steadfastly sustains and controls His creation and His creatures. The second must be stresssed with the first, for the idea of education is undoubtedly behind the word. The *ᶜĀlam* is linked etymologically with knowledge,

as that wherein God may be known. "The Lord of the worlds" is He to Whom all things return, Whom all nature declares, and Whom, therefore, man the articulate creature must perpetually magnify, mirroring as man does in all the personal worlds of his existence the inclusive handiwork of God. "The Lord of hosts is with us," cried the psalmist, "the God of Jacob is our refuge." The hosts and Jacob: the endless stars and the wandering fugitive: the vast panorama of nature and the intricacies of the single heart:—these in its fullest sense the Quranic ascription has in mind.

There is nothing, therefore, in creation to which the law of God does not relate, nothing in human life and society to which His rule is irrelevant. Whatever the theme of study —trends in Turkish education, constitutional travail in Pakistan, the directions of Arabic literature—it finds its ultimate significance because it is under God. God's lordship of all worlds of thought or action demands a discipleship that exempts no part of its setting from the claims of that authority. We must learn to take interest in all men from the standpoint of God's Kingdom over and within them. Nor must this Kingdom be confused with the ethos or the community that are believed to express its claims. For it would, in the end, be a most un-Islamic thing to bring to Islam the allegiance only due to God, just as it would be treacherous to Christianity to love it with the love that should be Christ's alone. God, not the community, is the Lord. Obedience to Him, as in the case of Abraham, of whom the Qurʾān thinks as the first of the Muslims and on whose lips it finds this very phrase, *Rabb al-ʿĀlamīn,* may require the criticism and abandonment of the community as such. "Thee we worship" — not the law Thou hast given. Nomocracy may be the worst and most devious form of idolatry. We must be worshippers of God, not patrons of His revelation. The more intimately we feel ourselves in possession of His counsels the more exactingly they should bind us. For "the Lord of the worlds" is no less the Lord of our world of heritage and pride, of culture and community.

These reflections confront us with the fact that there is a clear distinction between the worlds of nature and the worlds of human nature in respect of the manner of their amenability to the Divine lordship. The universe in its order, the stars in their courses and matter with its laws, are evidently obeying option-less necessities. Their 'obedience' can only be so described as the fulfilment, not the choice, of their proper end. Though the social and mental scientists attempt to study human behavior in terms of scientific 'laws' which can allegedly be plotted and applied for the sociological manipulation of culture, there must ever remain a categorical difference between the nature of man and the nature of the molecule, between the law of the soul and of the soil. The Divine lordship discernible in the order and constancy of the first is the ground and realm of the Divine lordship that shapes and summons the spiritual creaturehood of the second.

It is here that the profoundest problems lie. It has been customary among Muslims to question, and controvert, in the name of Divine lordship just those very items of Christian doctrine in which the Christian finds that lordship most surely operative. While we must strive patiently to enter into the reasons for the Muslim disavowal of Bethlehem and the Cross, we must ever yearn to bring them into relation with the Christian reasons for avowing these. For both sets of reasons arise from the same area of conviction as to Divine sovereignty but find it vindicated in contrasted ways.

The divergence goes deep, but not too deep for patient interpretation of a largely common conviction through contrasted clues as to where it must lead. "What do you suppose about the Lord of the worlds?" asks Surah xxxvii. 87. The reply of the Christian faith is that He is so much Lord as to have gone to all the lengths of love towards those worlds which within us are the person and around us are humanity. For these are the worlds where His lordship means, and matters, most.

ISLAM IN IRAN *

The student searching for literature on the general subject of Iranian Shīᶜism, will find the dearth of information on the subject, in books or articles, great. The only general book on Shīᶜism in any western language is the work by Rev. Dwight Donaldson, which has only scratched the surface, as he himself recognizes. [1] Furthermore, in this book, and in various scattered articles on Shīᶜism, the emphasis is always on history, on the origin of the Shīᶜites as partisans of the family of ᶜAlī, or in other words on Arab Shīᶜism, or early Shīᶜism. Iranian Shīᶜism is another and vaster study which needs much investigation. It begins only in the 10th century A.D. under the Bōyids and comes to fruition under the Safavids. One might say that only certain sects, or subdivisions, of Iranian Shīᶜism, have received treatment in studies in European languages. Even then these studies of Ismāᶜīlism,[2] and the doctrines of the Shaikhīs,[3] are hardly adequate. The main development of Iranian Shīᶜism, and many of the subdivisions, needs to be sketched in general terms before we can proceed to a closer investigation of special problems.

One may divide Iranian Shīᶜism today into three general groups: the Imāmī Shīᶜite sects (the most important of which is the "orthodox" Jaᶜfarī sect, [4] or the "Twelvers," the state religion of Iran), the dervishes and mystics, and the *Gholāṭ* or "exaggerators", or "those in error," related to the Shīᶜa in some way. This division is one made by Shīᶜites themselves.

"THE TWELVERS"

There is no gain in repeating material which may be found in general books on Islam about the origins of the Shīᶜa, or the belief in the twelve *Imāms* who, in the eyes of the Shīᶜites were the true leaders of the Islamic community in direct succession down to Muḥammad, son of Ḥasan al-ᶜAskarī. He was the Twelfth *Imām* who disappeared in Samarra in the reign of the Caliph al-Muᶜtamid (ca. 873 A.D.) and will reappear again as the *Mahdī* or messiah to lead his people to salvation.

There are two general features of Shīᶜism above all others which distinguish it from Sunnī Islam. One is belief in the *Imāmate,* with all of its ramifications: the other is belief in the secret, or allegorical

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* Persian names in this paper have been transcribed, Arabic words transliterated.

[1] Donaldson, *The Shi'ite Religion* (London, 1933).

[2] Cf. W. Ivanow's studies in the Ismaili Society series, published by E. J. Brill, Leiden.

[3] Cf. A. L. M. Nicolas, *Essai sur le Cheikhisme,* 4 parts (Paris, 1910-1914).

[4] It is to the sixth Imām Jaᶜfar al-Ṣādiq that much of Shīᶜite law is traced back.

(*bāṭin*) interpretation of the Qurʾān and indeed of all Islamic doctrine.

These are the two fundamental characteristics of all Shīʿite groups. There are, of course, great variations in the interpretations and manifestations of the above, but the general features of the two are inextricably bound together in Shīʿite doctrine. For obviously the *Imām* is in possession of the secret knowledge which is the road to salvation.

The similarities between the Muʿtazilites, the so-called "free thinkers" of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate and the early Shīʿites has been noted by a number of scholars.[5] In both cases there was a lack of emphasis on traditions, so characteristic of Sunnī Islam; and there was no real system of Shīʿite theology in the first three centuries of Islam. It was only under the Shiʿite Bōyid dynasty in the 10th and first half of the 11th century that Shīʿite traditions were compiled thus initiating a system of theology. Of course before this time there was no need for such work since the *Imām* interpreted the faith for his followers. And after the disappearance of the twelfth *Imām*, there followed a period known as the "Lesser Concealment" or Occultation *(Al-ghaibat al-ṣughrā)* ca. 873-940 A.D., during which there were in succession four *wakīl* or agents of the *Imāms*, the first of whom was designated by the eleventh *Imām* as regent or guardian of his son, the last *Imām*. The fourth *wakīl*, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Samurrī, died in 940 without naming a successor. Since that time the Hidden *Imām* has had no visible representative on earth. Also, since that time Shīʿites have been obliged to collect and interpret traditions under the divine guidance of the Hidden *Imām*.

It is wrong, therefore, to say that the Shīʿites have no collections of traditions comparable to the four Sunnī schools of law, for the books of criticism and interpretation written by Shīʿite *ʿulamāʾ* in succeeding centuries are guides to thought and action for the Shīʿites. The difficulties of characterizing Shīʿite theology, however, are great because the sects are subdivided and so mixed that one cannot easily discover canonical beliefs. This is even true of the "Twelvers," the majority of the Shīʿites. When the Shīʿite Safavids came to power in Iran in the 16th century, a national church came into being and we find the institution of a Shaikh al-Islām, or head of the Shīʿite divines, which parallels the state church of the Sassanids with their *mobadān mobad* over thirteen hundred years before. Perhaps the most famous of these Shaikhs under the Safavids was one Muḥammad Bāqir b. Muḥammad Taqī Majlisī (d. 1698 or 1700), whose books are authority for much of "Twelver" Shiʿism today. They are not, however, in the same category of the four Sunnī collections of traditions, which are held as law and closed law books at that, by various Sunnīs at the

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[5] E.g. A Mez, *The Renaissance of Islam*, trans. S. K. Bakhsh (Patna, 1937), 62.

present. In any case, after the break up of the Safavid state the office of Shaikh al-Islām lost most of its preeminence.

To return to Shīᶜite doctrine, the epiphany idea of the *Imām* was allied to the concept of a passion. Each of the *Imāms* is supposed to have died a martyr's death. These two beliefs led to a further expectation of a *Mahdī* or messiah, of parousia. The parallel with Christianity is obvious; the historical influence, however, is open to discussion. In the same breath one may call to mind parallels between the *Imāms* and the *Saoshyants* of the Zoroastrian faith, but again many problems arise. Zoroastrian influences appear more probable in other sects of the Shīᶜites which will be mentioned below.

Strothmann, in speaking of Shīᶜite theology, says: "The richer theological speculation (of the Shīᶜites) required to a greater extent (than the Sunni) the categories of philosophy and its dialectic for dogmatic stabilisation." [6] The result was that the theology became theosophy and gnosis came to the fore; again, however, some of the sects manifested this more than the "Twelvers."

Before turning to the sects, a word on the practical chain of authority in religious matters in Iran at present, with a concomitant recapitulation, may be in order. The five pillars of the "orthodox, Twelver" Shīᶜites are: God (*tōḥīd*), the prophets (*nabovvat*), the Imams (*imāmat*), justice (*ᶜadl*), and resurrection (*maᶜād*). The last two require some explanation. [7] The first (*ᶜadl*) absolves God of wrong. He can do no evil or bad to any man. He is all just, and man is free in choice of actions. The second (fifth pillar), resurrection, tells us that God resurrects the dead on the Last Judgement, weighing good and evil deeds. Both body and soul are resurrected such that a man is recognizable. There is much more to the matter than this, but we have no space to expound further on the beliefs of the "orthodox Twelvers." Let us turn to the question of the practical operation of authority in Iran. How are the "pillars" interpreted and administered? Public opinion, generally speaking, elects (or accepts) a local *mullā* because of his character and superior knowledge of religious affairs. By prolonged study one can obtain the degree of *mujtahid*, which is granted by older and established *mujtahids* for excellence in religious knowledge. The *mujtahids* have the right to give opinions on secondary matters. The *mujtahids* are the learned men of Shīᶜism and they elect one, who is generally considered the best man in Shīᶜa lands in knowledge, character and morals, to be the *ᶜuẓmā*, the interpreter of the faith for the *Imāms*. At present the holder of this office is Ayatallāh Burūjirdī. called Ayatallāh al-ᶜUẓmā, who resides in

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[6] In the article on Shīᶜa in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

[7] I rely on the following works for information: Muḥ. Ḥusain Āl Kāshif, *Kitāb rīshe-ye shīᶜa*, trans. ᶜAlī Rezā Khosravī, (Teheran, 1951), 89-109, and the *Kitāb ᶜaqā'id al-shīᶜa* by ᶜAlī Asghār ibn ᶜAlī Akbar (Teheran, no date, lithographed).

Qumm, center of the Shīᶜa world. Isfahan used to be the center, then Najaf, and now Qumm. To this town come students of religion to hear Ayatallāh al-ᶜUẓmā give lessons (*dars-e khārej*) from the *minbar*. There are five degrees of students who study a wide curriculum, the *hauze-ye ᶜilmiyye* (religious-scientific area).

All over Iran one may find the graves of *Imāmzādehs* which are places of pilgrimage, and around which *mujtahids* or dervishes, or shaikhs of some sort may collect. These provide the "sainthood" of Islam.

"THE SEVENERS"

Among the many sects of Shīᶜism the Ismāᶜīlī, or the "Seveners," have followers in Iran today, principally in the Birjand and Kashan regions. They believe that the *Imāmate* went to Ismāᶜīl, another son of the sixth *Imām*, Jaᶜfar al-Ṣādiq, and he (Ismāᶜīl) is the last of the visible *Imāms*. The Persian branch of Ismāᶜīlism (followers of Nizār) developed an elaborate theology, of which we know a good deal today, thanks especially to the researches of W. Ivanow. The doctrines of the sect are especially characterized by the *taᵓwīl al-bāṭin* or "esoteric exegesis" which brings into Islam many foreign concepts. For example, the world was created by the universal mind acting on the universal soul, and history is a series of cycles of manifest and hidden *Imāms*. The number "seven" had special significance for the Ismāᶜīlīs. The "Seveners," among other things, especially after the destruction of Alamūt, their center in Iran, in 1256 by the Mongols, adopted Ṣūfī concepts and terminology. The Hidden *Imām* has a special sense for the Ismāᶜīlī, too involved to detail here. But to give an idea of one aspect of what it meant, one may quote Henry Corbin. "The 'quest for the *Imām*' represents for the Ismāᶜīlī that which the 'quest for the Grail' meant to our religious knights (*chevaliers mystiques*) and minstrels." [8]

It is impossible here to go further into the fascinating ideas of the Ismāᶜīlīs, for they present many facets as well as problems. Henry Corbin has studied and is studying the philosophical implications of Ismāᶜīlī doctrines, and in the introduction to his edition of the book of Nāṣir-e Khosrow, "Uniting the two wisdoms," which Corbin paraphrases as "harmony of Greek philosophy and Ismāᶜīlī theosophy," [9] we find a surprising philosophical development. Obviously the Ismāᶜīlīs were avid students of Greek philosophy and it seems of Christianity. This plainly appears in Ismāᶜīlī symbolism which also adapts motifs from Zoroastrianism. [10] Thus, Ismāᶜīlism has great in-

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[8] Nāṣir-e Khosrow, *Kitāb-e Jāmiᶜ al-Ḥikmatain*, ed. H. Corbin (Teheran, 1953), introduction, 30.

[9] *Ibid.* 73.

[10] Cf. Corbin, "Le temps cyclique dans le Mazdéisme et dans l'Ismaélisme", *Eranos Jahrbuch*, 20 (Zürich, 1952), 183-217.

terest because of the richness of its thought and its influence in the intellectual and religious history of Iran. Today in Iran the sect is insignificant, but the Ismāʿīlī Khojas of India, with their leader the Aga Khān, are an important section of the Muslim community.

THE SHAIKHIS

We turn briefly to another Shīʿite sect in Iran, the Shaikhīs, predecessors of the Bābīs. Most of their followers became Bābīs but there still exists a small group of Shaikhīs with center in Kirman, and with a leader called Aqā-ye Ibrāhīmī, or as he is usually known Sarkar Aqā. The sect was founded by Shaikh Aḥmad Aḥsāʾī (d. ca. 1826) who came from Arabia to Iran in the time of Fatḥ ʿAlī-Shāh Qājār. His doctrine deviated from the "orthodox Twelver" doctrine in that he accepted three of the five pillars, but added a new fourth pillar. The Shaikhīs are also called *Ahl-e rukn-e rābeʿ* (people of the fourth pillar); they accept God, the prophets, and the twelve *Imāms,* but they add the spirit (for want of a better term) of the Hidden *Imām,* which is epiphanized in every century in some one, who is the representative of the Hidden *Imām* on earth. This doctrine, of course, was the background to the preaching of the Bāb. Although the Shaikhīs are also *Imamī* followers, for them the twelve *Imāms* are cosmic figures.[11] They are Shīʿite Gnostics *par excellence,* descendants of Proclus. In addition, to their extreme (in the eyes of "orthodox" Shīʿites) allegorical interpretation of the Qurʾān they emphasize the Resurrection. They would have appreciated the reported last words of Richard Strauss: "Tod und Verklärung, ist's wahr." There seem to be Zoroastrian influences in some of Shaikhī doctrine, but this is a matter for further study.[12]

The Bābīs are directly related to the Shaikhīs, for Sayyid ʿAlī Muḥammad, later known as the Bāb, was a student of Sayyid Kāẓim al-Reshtī, the successor of the founder of the Shaikhīs. The Bāb claimed he was the Twelfth *Imām* epiphanized in the world. The same fate met the Bāb in 1850, as had been meted out to the mystic Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj in 937. Both were executed.

THE DERVISHES OR MYSTICS

The number of dervish orders in Iran is legion, and it is very difficult to obtain information about them because by nature they are reserved for adepts or members. Also their relation with the

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[11] The Shaikhīs emphasize their rationalism in explaining miracles, and they have an interesting doctrine of resurrection, of the *jism-e huwārqiliyāʾī*; cf. "Shaikhī" in the *Ency. of Islam.*

[12] I wish to thank Henry Corbin who introduced me to the study of mysticism in Iran, and whose work has opened new vistas in our knowledge of religion in Iran.

Twelver Shīᶜites is even more strained than the feelings of Communists and Socialists for each other. The Shīᶜites and the mystics have much in common, but they are also at opposite poles, for the mystics, believing in direct contact with God, deny the need for an intermediate *Imām*.

Perhaps the most important dervish orders in Iran are those which derive from the school of Sayyid Niᶜmatallāh Valī, whose shrine still stands in Māhān near Kirman. Niᶜmatallāh died in 1431 and his followers continued in his footsteps to the present. There is a lovely shrine with library at Māhān, the center of this dervish order. Little can be said of the doctrines of the dervish orders in Iran to distinguish them from other mystics. Suffice it to say generally speaking they trace their pedigrees back to one of the *Imāms*, and they are speculative rather than given to special rites such as whirling or howling. Recitation of the writings of the *murshid* or of the Qurᵓān is the usual way of inducing the mystical state. [13]

From the Niᶜmatallāh order there branched a host of other orders, usually following a strong personality and local in scope. In the 19th century in Kirman a certain Raḥmat ᶜAlī Shāh organized his own *tarīqe* or *khānegāh*. His student was the well-known confidant of Naṣr al-Dīn Shāh, Mirzā Ḥasan, otherwise known as Ṣāfī ᶜAlī Shāh who established a center in Teheran which still flourishes. Another follower of Niᶜmatallāh was Ṣāliḥ ᶜAlī Gunābādī whose shrine is at Behdukht in Khorāsān, and is well supported today.

Another dervish order which flourishes today is the Dhahabbiyya, with leaders Shaikh Aḥmad Khushnāvī in Shirāz, and Shaikh ᶜImād in Ardabīl. This is an old order, and information about it is given by one of the chiefs of the order, Sayyid Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥusainī al-Nairizī al-Shīrāzī in his book *Faṣl al-Khiṭāb*. The order is traced back to Shaikh Muḥammad al-ᶜĀrif who is buried in Meshed. [14] There do not seem to be any special rites in the order, but God knows best.

In western Iran, among the Kurds, the famous Naqshbandiyya order of dervishes, and the Khāksariyya are said to exist though the writer has been unable to obtain any information about the latter, or even about the name. There are other dervish orders in Iran but they are of lesser importance and, as noted above, their practices are very similar.

THE GHOLĀṬ

The exaggerators are those who are considered by the Shīᶜites to have broken away completely from the line of Shīᶜite development

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[13] Cf. A. K. Barq, "Tālifāt-e-Ṣāfī ᶜAlī Shāh", *Indo-Iranica*, 7 (Calcutta, 1954).
[14] Cf. the article "Dhahabbiyya" in Deh Khudā, *Lughat nāme* (Teheran, 1951), 197-8.

and indeed from Islam itself, so that generally speaking they are considered beyond the pale, lower than Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians (*Gabrs*). These groups have been studied by European scholars and information about them can be secured from western publications. All of them are found in western Iran, though some are today in Teheran.

The first group are the *Ahl-e Ḥaqq*, the "Truth Workers," literally "People of God." [15] There are many subdivisions to the *Ahl-e Ḥaqq* and there is no unity or generally accepted body of doctrine, canonical or otherwise. They all believe in the successive manifestations of God, and each time He appears with four or five angels. The first appearance of God was as Creator, the second as ᶜAlī. The fourth theophany was Sulṭān Ṣohāk, the founder of the religion. The angels emanate from God's armpit, His breath, or elsewhere. Men pass through 1,001 incarnations, and as in Buddhism the good come nearer to God, while the bad go further from Him. But in the Final Judgment the good enter paradise (contemplation of God) and the evil are annihilated. The rites of these people are varied including seances of walking on coals, animal sacrifices, and the like. They are related to the ᶜAlī Ilāhīs (below) in many points of ritual. It seems that these groups grew up in western Iran among Azerī Turkish and Gurānī speakers in the 15th century when the Turkoman dynasties of the Qaraqoyunlu and Aq-qoyunlu were in power.

The ᶜAlī Ilāhīs are difficult to distinguish from the preceding. Some of the ᶜAlī-Ilāhīs are called Nuṣairīs, dating back to the 10th century to a certain Muḥammad b. Nuṣair Namūrī ᶜAbdī. The ᶜAlī Ilāhīs are found today in Kurdistān with centers at Kirmanshāh. They regard ᶜAlī as the Deity, while the *Ahl-e Ḥaqq* worship Sulṭān Ṣohāk. Their doctrines are wondrous in their syncretic nature, and most difficult to disentangle. They grow long moustaches to their chins, and meet on Thursday nights when they sit around a fire in a room reciting, or in contemplation, until one or more goes into a trance. In a state of ecstasy they pick up coals or burning wood and throw fire about the room. Witnesses say the carpets are not harmed thereby.

Near the Iraqi frontier are found Yezidis, the so-called "Devil Worshippers," though this is a misnomer. They believe in metampsychosis, and the active essence of God in this world in the symbol of Melek Ṭā'ūs "the peacock angel." They have various stages of initiation and an elaborate ritual which has much of pre-Islamic beliefs in it. The Yezidis have been studied by E. S. Drower and others. [16] All of these aberrant sects have some connection with

[15] Cf. the article by V. Minorsky "Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ" in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam Supplement* where further references are given.

[16] E. S. Drower, *Peacock Angel* (London, 1941), and other publications of the Drowers.

Shīᶜism and the person of ᶜAlī, though the Yezidis are far removed therefrom. It is, of course, impossible to discuss these sects in this paper, and only a few remarks of possible interest have been made here. Suffice it to say that each of these *Gholāṭ* sects requires intensive study, for the accounts we have of them are descriptive and indicate a number of contradictory doctrines. What is needed now is careful research into the doctrines, tracing their history and showing analogies with other religions.

Finally, the Bahais may have a small claim for mention here (though they do not represent a Muslim sect) since they originated from the Bābīs. Today Bahais are not recognized as a religious group by the Shīᶜites. In fact they are ignored, as the state of Israel is by the Arabs. Yet the influence of the Bahais, with their emphasis on reason and universalism, must be strong among intellectuals in Iran today. Because in a sense Bahaism provides a religion for the intellectual, which is not provided by Shīᶜism, it is important. Since it is not Islamic its tenets cannot be discussed here.

CONCLUSION

The future of Islam in Iran is uncertain as elsewhere in the Muslim world. It is significant that in Iran, as elsewhere in the East, the great masses of people cling to traditional beliefs and the faith of their fathers. The intellectuals almost unanimously are irreligious, and they are separated from and have no influence over the religious life of the people. Hence, intellectually Islam in Iran is stagnating. A situation obtains similar to that in Russia before the Revolution. It is interesting that this state is almost the opposite of the West, where great masses of people are indifferent, while small groups are ardently engaging in religious activities. One should not say dogmatically that the intellectual has returned to religion in the West, but the number of philosophers, atomic scientists, and others who have turned to religion is significant.

So the future of Islam in Iran seems to be bound up with the question: Can Shīᶜite Islam develop so as to attract the intellectuals who must then set the pace for the rest? This was the situation in the Middle Ages, but today it is far more complicated because of the impact of the West. Perhaps the question to be asked is: Can Shīᶜite Islam provide a basis for liberalism, a basis for understanding science, technology, and, if you will, Westernization, and at the same time continue its traditions with the support of the masses? Superficially, the elements of a liberal philosophy of Shīᶜism seem to be present in the combination of *ijmāᶜ* (the consensus of opinion or English common law) and *ijtihād* (authority from 1 reason, and 2 grace of God as representing the Hidden *Imām*). One may say that since there is no absolutistic concept of law in Islam, much may be possible.

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A TURKISH TEXTBOOK ON ISLAM

INTRODUCTION

The temper and form of religious education in the Islamic world are themes of important debate at the present time, not least in those areas which have decisively or implicitly rejected the old patterns of authoritarian, dogmatic, religious instruction such as dominated the recent centuries, prior to the rise of the new nationalisms and the break-up of the old order. When the spirit of rejection and change goes wholeheartedly to secularism, as it did in official Turkey in the nineteen-twenties, it does not thereby escape the ultimate problem of moral and spiritual education. Even when the cult of the Nation, or the ideal of the citizen, with no reference or frame of relation beyond themselves, are proposed as the sum of the desiderata for the new generation, they still require to be inculcated and undergirded with sanction and validity. This task, even if it be regarded only as a functional one, eventually leads back into realms which argue and assume a religious dimension. Thus it is that the most confident secularism sooner or later finds itself in need of religion for an education that is adequate to its own secular purposes.

Such a confrontation, however, with the indispensability of the religious dimension of life in education, sharpens the determination to refuse the opportunity for any renascence of obscurantism. The necessity of religion does not argue the necessity of the old religion, with its challenge to the new liberties and attitudes that secularism has painfully asserted. The question is then how to ensure the necessary and proper role of religious doctrine and tradition in the training and development of the ideals and actualities of virile, continuous and loyal national life. This question involves both the personnel of the teaching profession and the textbook content of religious instruction.

Turning from these abstract reflections to the current Turkish scene we find that efforts have been made in both directions to cope with the urgent matter of religious instruction in contemporary Turkey. The translation that follows illuminates part of the provision for the second. It presents, with some slight omissions in the less significant sections, the contents of pages 1-40 of a teaching manual prepared by the Government for use in the fifth class of the Primary School and published in Istanbul in 1954 by the Maarif Basimevi, under the title: *Ilkokul Kitaplari — Din Dersleri II.*

The purpose in presenting this translation, is to enable readers to have access to the form and spirit of recent Turkish instruction in Islam under official state aegis. For while the need lying behind this textbook and others in the series may be read in the sense just outlined from secular premises, it may also be understood as a positive

expression of Islam, chastened by its secular handling and striving to re-assert its meaning for such a time as this. Such a view of the matter may well be more valid than the pragmatic hypothesis of a secularism feeling the need for morality. But this conjecture takes us deeper than a few paragraphs of introduction can undertake to delve.

In either case the contents of the textbook are an interesting study in themselves. No attempt is made here to comment on the interpretations or omissions or to discuss the emphases of the text. Discerning readers will readily appreciate the points of special relevance, both for the current understanding of Islam and for a constructive Christian relationship to all that is here attempted. Relevant also to the matters involved is the note on the Imām Hatīp Schools, which appears in NOTES OF THE QUARTER in this issue (pages 81, 82 within).

THE TRANSLATION

"In the Name of the protecting, forgiving God. Let us mention first of all Thy Name, for that is necessary to every creature. For him who mentions Thy Name first, Thou makest every task easy. If every task is started with the Divine Name it will never be left uncompleted. Always speak God's Name with every breath: every task is complete with God's Name." (Süleyman Çelebi, author of the Mevlut, 1409 A.D., being poems in honor of the Maulid of the Prophet and often recited at commemoration of the deceased.)

Faith

"Nothing in the world is in vain or done at random. Whatever it be, everything is created in accordance with one purpose—to be useful. If a person thinks carefully he will understand that in heaven and earth everything is at his disposal: it is for him. Night and day, earth and sky, moon and sun, sea and land, mountains and woods, rain and clouds—everything is for our use. So great, in God's view, is the worth of man. God has created everything for us; all things are ready to our service. It is only for us to know how to use them... However man is not unbridled. God has also given him duties for which he is responsible. Man was created to perform these duties. His duties are both to God and to God's creations. His first duty to God is to believe in the unity of the great God Who has made the whole world ready for his use and to try to carry out His orders. Being a Muslim is both believing and doing and living one's beliefs. A man's works will be pure and right to the extent his faith is strong. Things done without faith are worthless and of no importance. In order to carry out the commands of God, it is necessary first to believe them." [Here follow the six articles of the Muslim's creed.]

The Believer.

"To believe is the work of the heart. It means to bind one's self tightly to a thing with heart and inner being and to accept it as certain. It is for this reason that those believe in their hearts that God is one and that Muḥammad [1] is His Prophet are called believers. The believer's heart and tongue are one. He speaks what he believes and speaks believing. Those who say: 'I believed', 'I believe' in spite of the fact that they do not believe sincerely and have no faith in their hearts are called hypocrites. This is to be two-faced: the outside and the inside different. There is no light that illumines man's road like faith: there is no happiness like the happiness of believing. Just as one without an eye to see or a brain to think is defective, so is a person without faith in his heart. 'A heart, rusty and without faith, is a burden in the breast.' (Mehmet Akif.)"

Belief in God.

"I am a Muslim: I believe that God is and that He is one. He has no like and no partner. He has no equal, there is nothing like Him. He alone creates, feeds, makes to grow, sees and protects the sun and moon, the earth and sky and everything living and non-living. There is no other to be worshipped. I worship only Him: to Him alone I pray."

"There is a beginning and an end to our existence. Once we were not: today we are. After a while we shall pass away. God is not so; He has neither beginning nor end. He existed before all things and created everything. He is the first and the last. All things come from Him and abide through Him. God sees and hears. He knows everything, secret and open, what has been and what will be, what has passed and what will pass in our hearts. Unto Him everything is manifest. With Him there is no secret."

"God wills: and howsoever He wills, so He acts. None can resist His rule. Everything that He has done is right. God is mighty, omnipotent: there is no limit to His strength and His power. He causes the rain to fall from the heavens: He makes the dry earth spring to life. From the dead trees He makes the flowers to spring and brings forth the fruit. All these things He protects and for them He cares. Nothing to Him is hard or difficult. When He says: 'Let it be', it is: or 'Let it die' and it dies. He has given His commands to the Prophets and has sent them as messengers to us. He has made known to His Prophets the things that are good and evil, forbidden and permitted. The Holy Qur'ān is God's word, His speech. God is the source of all life. There is no likeness to God, in any respect. We, and all the things we see, came into being later: our existence requires the existence of other things. Were they not, we would not

[1] The title Hazreti for which it is difficult to find an adequate English rendering is used throughout for the Prophet and once for Khadijah.

be. But God is not so. He is the sole ground of His own existence: everything needs Him, He needs nothing."

"God's knowing, hearing, seeing, speaking, do not resemble ours. All our faculties are derivative. In some degree they all have likeness to something else. God, however, is different from what we see and think and feel He is like. God knows my every act, good and evil, everything that has passed in my heart. If my thoughts, speech and acts are right, He rewards me. If they are not, He punishes me, or forgives me—if so He wills. Behold, I know God thus: I believe Him to be thus and I strive to carry out His will. I worship only God: I cleave only to Him with all my heart. My strong unshakeable belief in God always gives me endurance and if I fall into difficulty gives me comfort and hope, makes me reach the good always. My faith in God brings me security and makes easy for me even the most difficult tasks. I never fall into hopelessness, I always walk with that faith and always see God's help. I know and believe that when I walk along the right road, God is with me."

An Entreaty.

"O Thou my God, most high. I was nothing, Thou createdst me and gavest me strength, eyes, ears, tongue, mouth, hand and foot. Thou madest me the possessor of knowledge. Thou gavest me intelligence and filledst my heart with Thy love. Thou madest clear my task. By Thy light I have found my way: I have seen the world: I have learned myself: I have understood Thy presence, and Thy unity. I have cleaved to Thee with love. O great God, Thou art and art one. My existence is the greatest witness to Thy existence. If Thou hadst not existed, I had not: if Thou hadst not made known, I would not have known: if Thou hadst not shown, I had not seen: if Thou hadst not made me hear, I would not have heard: if Thou hadst not made me love, I would not have loved."

"O great, protecting, forgiving God. I have believed that everything comes from Thee, and that without Thee there could be nothing. I came to Thy door. I worship only Thee. 'T is from Thee alone I seek. help. Show Thou me the right: protect me from turning into evil ways and from doing the things Thou likest not. O my God, fill my inner being wholly with love: make me love the things Thou lovest; grant me entirely good and beautiful works." [A poem of petition by Emin Ali Sipahi follows after four verses by an unnamed author].

Islam and Brotherhood.

"Muslims are brothers of each other. This brotherhood is broader than that which springs from family. Those who say that God is one and that holy Muḥammad is God's Apostle, being Muslims, are also

brothers of one another. Just as all Muslims who live together outside the family but within the nation are brothers, so those Muslims outside our boundaries are brothers. God declares in the Qur'ān: 'Muslims are nothing other than brothers.' Our Prophet also has confirmed this with his words and works. For that reason it is necessary that we know each other as brothers and that we act in this way. From whatever corner of the world, from whatever nation, of whatever sect a person may be, those who accept the unity of God and the Prophethood of Muḥammad are brothers. It means that they are hands and arms of one body. Their joy is our joy: their grief is our grief. ... And this is not enough. There is a broader meaning of brotherhood, that of mankind. We know that our great God created the first people from one mother and father. All people sprang into existence and multiplied from these. From this point of view all people are brothers, whatever religion they have. We look with the eyes of brothers upon every one. Our beloved Prophet exhorted saying: 'O ye creatures of God may ye all be brethren.' For this reason we look with brotherly eyes upon all peoples.... The Muslim wants people on the earth to live in peace. He does not covet the property, dominion, life, good name or honesty of any one. It is enough that those on the other side act with the same feeling (toward Muslims.)"

The Holy Qur'ān.

[After expounding belief in angels and in the books of God given to the Prophets, with the statement that the Gospel was revealed to Jesus, the exposition proceeds.]

"The Holy Qur'ān is God's speech, God's word. It is the last book to God's people. This holy Book through the mediation of the Angel Gabriel was sent down by God to our Prophet, verse by verse, surah by surah. He read the verses coming from God to those all around and taught them. They also memorized them and wrote them down just as they heard them from our Prophet, and taught them to others. [Here follows a summary of the Qur'ān's call to belief and good works, its unique effect in combating idolatry and setting forth the unity of God, its transformation of Arab life and manners.] God gave certain unique qualities to the Qur'ān, not found in any other book. In the Qur'ān the passages which affirm the greatness, the unity, the incomparability of God are so vigorous, so strong, that no other holy book can equal them. Even the shortest line in any Surah can bring together the highest principles relating to faith, prayer and morals. In the Holy Qur'ān every subject is set forth with supreme and unequalled clarity and vigor. Reading the Qur'ān gives comfort to a person's soul. Both inwardly and outwardly the being of the Muslim who fulfills the words of the Qur'ān is purified and exalted. It calls us to justice, brings us to light and leads us to peace."

Faith in the Prophets.

"I am a Muslim. I believe that God sent Prophets from time to time to every people. God gave intelligence to man whereby he is superior to other living things. Intelligence is the best and greatest of the gifts God has given to man. This it is which points out the right way to man. Man is able to think, not only of today, but of the past and future, of what has been and what will be. He tries to understand the truth about everything. By intellect he is able to understand the existence and unity of God. Only he cannot know God's commands, or how He must be worshipped, or the duties for which he is responsible to his Creator and those who have been created. About these he cannot make a valid judgement. He remains bewildered. In this manner some peoples have been at a loss and have strayed from time to time from the right road, worshipping trees and stones as their god, and doing senseless deeds which conformed to the Devil. There are very many examples of these in history." [2]

"It is because of this that from time to time God chose and sent as messengers to every people some from among those who were the noblest and most mature in mind and moral nature. Through them He made known to humanity His own commands, the duties incumbent upon man and the way to achieve happiness in the world and in the future life. The Prophets are messengers bringing word from God. Prophethood is a gift from God. No one can by striving or through wealth or knowledge exalt himself to that station. The Prophets are men like ourselves, but they are most beloved, the noblest creatures of God in mind and keenness. [3] God has protected them both inwardly and outwardly, from all kinds of uncleanness. They do not commit sin, nor think evil thoughts. They never tell lies or deceive. In every respect they are trustworthy. The Prophets were the first teachers of men: they guided men to all goodness and nobility. The way they showed is God's way, the way of justice. Those who do not stray from this way achieve happiness in this world and in the future life. One group of Prophets are Prophets simply for their own people and for a certain time. The prophethood of the last Prophet, Muḥammad, is for all people, to bring the world from darkness to light, to make known the noble dignity and worth of man. The number of Prophets who preceded him is great. There are twenty-four whose

[2] This account of the relation between reason and revelation is very representative of Muslim attitudes on this theme, with the double—but not reconciled—insistence that intellect is supreme and that revelation, especially in the practical realm, is indispensable. It might perhaps be asked how men could rationally know the existence of God and yet have no knowledge about His worship or His Will. Surely revelation illuminates an already present sense of obligation; a truth which is educationally important.

[3] This point is interesting in view of the general Islamic doctrine that the Prophet's reason plays no part in the revelation he receives, nor in the process of receiving it.

names are in the Qurʾān. Our Prophet Muḥammad is the last prophet. Anyone claiming prophethood after him is a liar. One must not heed the words of such people."

Some of the Great Prophets.

[After noticing the prophetic roles of Adam and Noah and the multiplied idolatry that followed the time of Noah, the manual introduces Abraham.]

"The people, who settled in Iraq and established large cities in the vicinity of Mosul, on the banks of the Tigris and near the Euphrates, worshipped stars. At their head was a ruler named Nemrut. God sent the Prophet Abraham to them. He explained to them that the way they were going was wrong: that nothing other than God, neither moon nor sun nor stars nor idols, were to be worshipped. Most of them hearkened not to this and disbelieved the miracles he showed. Nemrut, not satisfied with that, had him cast into the fire. But God saved him from the effect of the fire and some who saw this believed in him. Abraham and these believers fled to Damascus and later settled in the land of Canaan. By God's command he went to Mecca and there, with his son, Ishmael, erected the Kaʿba." [Moses is then presented, as in the Qur'ān.]

"Jesus also, like Moses, invited the children of Israel to believe in the unity of God. Twelve people believed in Jesus: these were called the twelve 'disciples'. However, one of these later betrayed Jesus and delivered him up. After Jesus, the disciples were dispersed and began to teach the religion of Jesus to the people. [4] However, because of persecution against Jesus and his adherents, the religion of Jesus was kept secret for more than two hundred years. Those who believed in Jesus worshipped him secretly in underground places and caves. Those who were heard of and apprehended were subjected to all kinds of torture. Because the Gospel, which was sent to Jesus in principle by God, could not be obtained, some books were later written as the Gospel. These were certain things written as history about some of the noble qualities of Jesus. None of these agreed with each other. Three hundred and twenty-five years after Jesus, a council of religious men who held a meeting at Iznik did away with all of them (the books) save four. The Gospels of today are these."

"After the Prophet Jesus the Jews were dispersed. The Romans attacking Jerusalem killed some of the Jews and drove others out.

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[4] This historical hiatus between the betrayal of Jesus and the narrative about the disciples "after" Jesus is representative of Muslim writing on this theme. *Din Dersleri* refrains from saying whether or how Jesus died, though the implication of its silence is that it follows the Quranic denial of His crucifixion. The same veil is drawn over the interval between the arrest in Gethsemane and the mission of the early Church by ʿAbbās Maḥmūd al-ʿAqqād in his *ʿAbqariyyat al-Masīḥ*, Cairo, 1952.

They plundered and ruined Jerusalem. They burned all the books belonging to the Jews. Those wishing to follow the way of Jesus were put to torture. Sometime later, the religion of Jesus, like the religion of Moses, was corrupted by this or that people. The essence of the religion was forgotten. The people turned to wrong ways. They worshipped stones and trees as God and made people their God. Hundreds of years after Jesus every day people strayed a little more. The world was impatiently waiting a savior. Thus in these circumstances five hundred and seventy-one years after the birth of Jesus, on the 20th night of April, coinciding with the 12th night of the Arabic month of Rabīʿa al-Awwal, Muḥammad, God's most beloved servant, came into the world."

"His birth was the beginning of a new turning point for the world. From history we learn that the night he came into the world great alterations took place on the earth. Magian fires, which for hundreds of years had been burning without ever going out, were extinguished that night. The idols whom the straying people had worshipped fell flat on their faces and in some places in the world extraordinary things were observed. Muḥammad's mother, Āmina Hatun also saw miraculous lights around her and several other spiritual experiences happened to her. These things brought the good news that the orphan child borne by Āmina Hatun would become the greatest savior for the people of the world."

"Muḥammad spent his childhood, youth and young manhood under the observation of all his countrymen in such purity that everyone admired him. In his entire life he never told a lie: he never failed to keep his word. He did not know deceit: he thought of good for everyone: he sorrowed over injustice and evil. God made that great person ready for great deeds. After reaching his fortieth year, Muḥammad received his prophethood from God. God filled his heart with the light of knowledge and of faith. He taught him what he did not know. He sent the Qurʾān, verse by verse: He sent down the verses of the Qurʾān to his heart. Through the angel Gabriel He made known to him that he would be the Prophet to all peoples and that it would be his responsibility to show them the right road."

"Our Prophet was moved and apprehensive as he thought of the immensity of the task that would be his responsibility in receiving such an order from God. He returned to his home and lay down on his bed and was covered. After a while he rose and told his wife, Khadījah, what had happened to him. Realising how excellent Muḥammad's qualities had been up to that time and how exemplary his morals, she sensed that this was probably something Divine. She took him to her uncle, a very aged and experienced man. Muḥammad related to him also what had transpired. After listening, he exclaimed: 'Good news! you are the last Prophet, about whom God spoke in the Pentateuch and the Gospel. The angel, whom you saw, who once accosted Moses

and Jesus, was Gabriel'." [There follows a long passage in which, after traditional form, the narrative of the first Muslims and the pre-Hijra years is recorded. Special emphasis is laid on the conversion of ʿUmar, to whom is attributed the coming of Muslim worship out into the open in Mecca. The migrations to Abyssinia and to Medina are mentioned in the same sentence. The story of the Prophet's adventurous journey to the new center is told with careful detail including the following episode.]

"Our Prophet went down to a village called Kuba, near Medina, and there he stayed as a guest for fourteen days. In this time a little mosque was built, during which time he worked as a laborer. This was the first mosque ever built. One Friday, the Prophet set out from Kuba to Medina with the Muslims who had gathered together up to that time. Before they reached Medina the time for the Friday prayers came. They dismounted from their camels and together with the Muslims of the vicinity performed there the Friday prayers. These were the first Friday prayers and the sermon preached there was the first sermon. The people were lined along the road on both sides. 'Ya Rasūl Allāh they cried, here are our houses, here is our property, here are our lives. All are yours.' Our Prophet was kind and greeted them as he advanced and entered into Medina. His first undertaking was to build a mosque in Medina to provide the Muslims with a place to worship in assembly."

[After reference to the brotherhood the Prophet created between the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār the text continues] "A rather wide hall was built next to the mosque. There were some Muslims who wished to give themselves entirely to the pursuit of knowledge. These lived in this hall, satisfied with board and lodging only, while they benefited by his Divine knowledge, memorized the verses delivered to him and the religious traditions heard from him. They also taught others...."

"Those who understood the goodness of Islam and saw that it was the religion of righteousness, voluntarily became Muslims. Thus Islam gradually gained strength. The Meccans, realizing this, intended to massacre all the Muslims by a sudden attack upon Medina. Our Prophet, as soon as he heard this, ordered an immediate population count. They made a record of the Medina Muslims and found them to number one thousand, five hundred. Our Prophet, in order to save the people from the tyranny of cruel men and to bring them to the noble position befitting humanity and to remove the obstacles he encountered in establishing justice and equality, was forced to wage war." [Under the heading "Peace is an essential principle of Islam" there follows an account of the battles of Badr and Uḥud and the skirmish of 'the Ditch.' The conquest of Mecca after the collapse of the Ḥudaibiyyah truce is briefly noted.]

"In the ninth year it was heard that a strong enemy force from the neighbourhood of Damascus was about to attack Medina. Our Prophet

at once moved with an army of thirty thousand men and awaited the enemy on the road. However, the enemy on learning the size of the Muslim army, stood rooted to the spot where they were and could not advance. Our Prophet was all alone when he began to call the people to religion. However, nine years after the flight to Medina he had attained the creation of an army of thirty thousand men. For Islam commanded people to be pure, to do good deeds and avoid evil ones, to cease worshipping stones and trees instead of their Creator, to avoid injustice and not to trespass on the rights of others. With regard to justice, it made no discrimination between slave and master. Thinking people understand that this religion is none other than the right way leading man to happiness in this world and in the future life. This is the explanation of the desire for Islam of those who appreciated this religion. In the tenth year after the Hijra tribes from every region sent delegations which became Muslims in the presence of our Prophet. On returning these secured the conversion of their tribes also."

"After Mecca had been taken and all the Meccans had become Muslims, our Prophet realized that his life work was now completed and that his last days were at hand. Accordingly he desired to enunciate to the whole world the principles of Islam by addressing a large audience. That year he decided to perform his pilgrimage duty. This word was promptly spread everywhere. Those wishing to have the honor of making the pilgrimage with the Prophet came to Medina in successive groups. The Prophet set out from Medina one Saturday morning. There were more than one hundred thousand Muslims with him. At the moment the Kaʿba was seen from afar, the mountain rocks began to resound with the strains of the formula of prayer recited by the hundred thousand Muslims. With one voice they cried: 'Here we be, before Thee, O God. Thou art One and hast no likeness. Thou hast no partner. Thee only do we worship.' The Prophet, mounting his camel, advanced to the plain of ʿArafāt where on camel back he gave his famous address, speaking to the world in the clearest fashion. Saying that Islam was a religion of unity, that all men are born free and equal, he propounded human rights. He proclaimed that the false survivals of previous ages would be destroyed, that class distinctions like slavery and lordship—obstacles to human nobility and progress—had no place whatsoever in Islam and that no people could have superiority over any other except in relation to virtue. Among the Arabs, as among several other tribes, there were blood feuds.... That day it was proclaimed that these evil customs, which were the cause of internal strife and destroyed the security of life and property, had no place in Islam. In Arabia, pawnbrokers and usurers had spread so far that all the poor people had fallen into the traps of the rich and had become their slaves. That day it was proclaimed that this was forbidden in Islam. The snares were opened, the chains broken, the people saved."

"Up to that day women had been considered the property of men. They were passed on from man to man like any other property. They were even offered as counters in gambling games. That day the equality of women's and men's rights and duties was made manifestly clear. Our Prophet in this connection prescribed as follows: 'Fear God in the treatment of women: protect their honor. As you have rights concerning them, so they have claims upon you. It is the equal duty and right of man and woman to safeguard the home and the honor of the family. I advise you to be gentle towards women. They are your partners in life. With women you establish a home: they are a trust to you from God. It is obligatory upon you to get along with them and to watch after their rights.' "

[After exhortation to fidelity and respect for human rights and to the performance of the religious duties of Islam the narrative of the Prophet's farewell pilgrimage concludes.] "My friends, if tomorrow someone asks you of me what will you say? Have I done my duty as a Prophet? Those present answered: 'Yes. O Prophet of God. Thou hast transmitted the commands of God and hast done thy duty.' Thereupon, he raised his sacred fore-finger thrice repeating: 'God be witness' and so said farewell to his people. At that very moment there came from God the verse: 'This day I have brought your religion to its full development. I have completed my blessings upon you. I have chosen Islam for you as your religion.' Thus in our Prophet's life the Qurʾān was completed and Islam came to maturity. So the Divine task of our Prophet, the holy Muḥammad, pursued through twenty-three years, came to an end. That day the history of prophethood was sealed. After this no other Prophet comes.

[The translation concludes with a brief relation of the Prophet's death.]

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A MUSLIM MIRROR FOR PRINCES

INTRODUCTION

The literature of politics both East and West offers many examples of manuals for rulers, outlining, often aphoristically, the worthy patterns of behavior and the arts of authority. Though there is often a wide gulf between precept and practice, between the ideal of the mentor and the actualities of the ruler he addresses, there is none the less in the spirit and content of this literature a ready access to the mind, if not to the conduct, of an age. For all its ingenuousness, political morality of this kind often overtakes its flouters and though it only operates on the present sufferance of its recipient, it embodies a larger sufferance that may one day bring him to terms.

In any event, this translation of an *ʿAhd* from Qāḍī Al-Nuʿmān's wellknown *Daʿāʾim al-Islām* is presented as a sample from Fāṭimid times of Islamic concepts of rulership as they were expressed by one who is revered among Ismāʿīlīs as the father of their jurisprudence. Al Nuʿmān, was born (on uncertain date) in Qairawān and served as a legist under the first four Fāṭimid Caliphs, reaching great eminence in jurisprudence. *Daʿāʾim al-Islām,* which he wrote in collaboration with the Imām Muʿizz, came to be an official *corpus juris* and the most famous work of a very prolific author. The section here translated from *The Pillars of Islam* is ostensibly an exhortation given by ʿAlī, or possibly by the Prophet Muḥammad himself, to a new governor. It represents a 10th century expression of the political desiderata of early Islam. The translation is made from the edition edited by Dr. A. A. A. Fyzee, Volume I, Cairo, A.H. 1370, A.D. 1951, pp. 412-431. A different version of the passage can be found in *Nahj al-Balāghah,* the wellknown compilation of Sharīf Rāḍī (359/970-406/1016) edited by Muḥammad ʿAbduh. A comparision of the versions offers certain interesting sidelights of some political significance but space does not allow of their discussion here. In a paragraph introducing what follows the Qāḍī Nuʿmān refers to its being transmitted from ʿAlī with a diploma of appointment and declares "To us it has been transmitted from him as something that he traced back to the Prophet."

THE TRANSLATION

ON THE SELF-EXAMINATION INCUMBENT ON THE AMĪR

Oh king, yourself a slave (of God), remember your former state and look at what you have become. Acquire for yourself that which is lasting. Learn the future by inference from the past and start by giving good advice to yourself. Think over your special vocation and take knowledge of your duties and your rights. There is nothing

more instructive for man as concerns his credit with God than his deeds, nor as concerns his credit with men than his works. Fear God in your personal affairs and in the most intimate (life) of your soul. Carry, in His fear, the burden He has imposed upon you and serve Him with humility because it is He who has elevated you. For humility is the natural quality of servitude, and pride is an attribute of lordship. [1] Do not allow yourself to be led astray from moderation by a rank which might inspire you with desire for what is not to be yours. Do not grow insolent because of the favors which God has bestowed upon you, instead of respecting the superiority of His rights, for [413] [2] the superiority of his rights over yours will never cease to grow. Do not behave, as if believing that God, in bestowing His generosity upon you, has freed you from the duty of observance of any of His ordinances, and that you have acquired the right to expect from Him liberation from difficult duties, so as to be able to throw yourself into the sea of desires. Should you act in such a way, this course of action will gain a great power over your heart and you will have to reproach the results of your behavior. So then, recognize your limits and consider where you are going. Remember this, as it ought to be remembered, and direct your heart to be concerned about it. For he who is concerned about a thing, will remember it frequently. Consider carefully what you do and who will participate with you in what you perform. For in the ultimate issue you cannot outpass the term of any of your fellow men, and the Hour is approaching from behind you. He, thanks to Whom you reach the fulfillment of what is fitting for you, does not deprive you of aught of the pleasures permitted you, as long as you do not therein go beyond the right measure of what is sufficient for you, thus going to excess from which you derive no benefit. You would only suffer the utmost distress from this, obtaining what would not give you any joy, save the joy of your eyes, all the profit beyond that going to somebody else. So do not set your hope on it, but augment your fear of its aftermath.

ADMONITION TO THE AMĪR OF THE ARMY FROM THE EXAMPLE OF THOSE WHO WERE BEFORE HIM IN THE SAME POSITION.

Look! you who have been made king and are yet a slave (of God). Where are your forefathers? Where are the kings and the sons of kings from among your enemies who have been devouring the world since its beginning? You devour only what they have left and administer just as they have administered. Where are their treasures

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[1] The *ʿUbūdiyyah* of man and the *Rubūbiyyah* of God are important topics among Ṣūfī writers.

[2] The numbers in parentheses are page numbers. The section begins on page 412, line 11.

which they had gathered and their bodies which they had treated to soft living, and their sons whom they honored? Do you see anybody more deprived of offspring and of fame? Remember the grace you are hoping for, if God will bestow it upon you, and let not your passion deprive you of your felicity. Let not your love for your children induce you to gather for them riches that would interfere with what God has allotted to them and what he wants them to obtain, lest you spell your own perdition (414) for the advantage of somebody else, and afflict yourself for the pleasure of someone who does not care about you and for the delights of one who has no sympathy for your pains. Remember death and what you must expect from the suddenness of its blows and count not yourself secure from the imminence of its assault. Always remember the inconstancy of the world and the changeability of its fortune, as well as the changes in its state which you have witnessed in your own and in other people's cases.

Lo, not long ago you belonged to the mass of the people and were wont to blame the pride of kings, their insolence in the exercise of their power, their haughtiness towards their subjects, their prompt readiness to harshness, their excesses in inflicting punishment and their neglect of clemency and compassion, their bad government, the mean temper of their domination, their tyranny over those under their rule, their little regard for the matter of their rising for judgment, their complete heedlessness of death, their immense greed for pleasures, their failure to think of good deeds and to meditate the punishments inflicted by the Almighty, their failure to profit from the lessons of events, the extent to which they felt secure against changes of fortune, their refusal to learn from the vicissitudes they have experienced, their eagerness to take and their reluctance to give (what is) due, their harsh treatment of the weak, their greed [3] and covetousness, the superciliousness and the stubborn obstinacy (they show), their neglect of that for which they have been created, their disregard for their office and their squandering of that which they were given in trust. Now, did you blame them for that in a spirit of faithful advice and of disapproval of their conduct, or because you envied them their position? If your intention was to give truthful advice, then today you should rather offer it to yourself. But if you did act, out of envy, how can you feel secure from God's severity? Is it that you have the power to defend yourself against God's punishment? Or can you dispense with striving for His approval, thanks to the favors He heaped upon you? Or have you drawn from His bounty the strength to brave His wrath and be obstinate in disobedience to Him? Or have you a place to which to flee to keep you from Him, or another Lord with whom to take refuge? Or do you possess the endurance to hold up against His revenge? Or do you hope for some change of fortune

[3] For this meaning of *ithār* compare: Alfarabius, Compendium Legum Platonis, ed. F. Gabrieli (London 1952), p. 7, l. 15 of the text.

which would remove you (415) from His power to that of someone else? So think it well over for yourself and apply your mind and your attention to it and let your heart examine it carefully. Keep in mind that people observe your activity exactly as you did that of those who occupied a similar position before you, and that they say about you what you were wont to say about them. See, where are the kings? And where is what they gathered, thereby disgracing themselves and becoming the subject of talk? What did they carry away thereof (at their death) and what remained to their successors? Think of your situation and that of your predecessors in this same condition and of what they gathered and stored up. Did they keep these treasures, when God decided to take them away from them? And was it any disadvantage to you that you did not possess any treasure, when God had decided to turn this rule over to you? So believe not that treasures will be of use to you, and rely not upon them today, as if you could trust to profit from them tomorrow. Rather let them be that which you fear most and whose evil effects are your greatest disquietude. The frequent accomplishment of good deeds and the persistence in good actions should be for you the dearest of treasures and that from which you may be sure of enjoying the utmost benefit and advantage. Should you direct your desire towards this (course of action) and turn it away from any other, your sorrow will be diminished, your life become agreeable and your mind at ease. Let your delight be in abstemiousness, for good works are better than the delight the covetous derive from what they gather. Show restraint both in gathering and in spending and do not believe that zeal in acquiring things forbidden is (a sign) of ability nor that ardor in giving away without right (motive) is generosity. For these are inconsistent actions. But ability and generosity consist in your control of your desires, in being circumspect about taking what is legally permissible to you, and being liberal in bestowing what is due from you. Profit therein from what you know and take a warning from what you have seen in this matter of the experience of others. Struggle against your appetite in anything to which it inspires you, being like a man who accomplishes his duty to the best of his power, respecting the claims of God and men upon him, and doing it willingly, not looking for an excuse where there is none, and not allowing his desire to lead him into the abyss of disaster, for the onset of passion is sweet but its aftermath is harmful. (416)

THE COMMAND TO AMĪRS TO TREAT THEIR SUBJECTS WITH JUSTICE AND TO EXERCISE EQUITY WILLINGLY.

Teach your heart to show clemency toward your subjects as well as love, affection and good deeds. Do not be for them a beast of prey, seizing the opportunity of their slips and mistakes to prey upon them. They are your brethren by origin and your equals by creation,

who often fall into sin unawares and, being victims of unfortunate circumstances, are punished both for intentional as well as unintentional misdeeds. So grant them your pardon and your forgiveness such as you yourself desire to receive from Him who is above both you and them. God (Himself) tests you through them. He gave you the rule over them, and He will adduce against you the love of justice, forgiveness and compassion with which He inspired you. So do not show yourself deserving of the loss of His love nor expose yourself to His enmity, for you can do nothing against His vengeance, nor can you do without His forgiveness and compassion. Do not punish rashly. Do not succumb to the first fit of anger, when you can find a way of escape from it. Do not say: "I am an Amīr, I may do what I want," for this spells a quick breakdown of the administration. If you are pleased with your situation and feel proud and superior, you will act insolently and abuse your power over your subjects. So remember that God's power is superior to yours and think of death and what comes after. This will curb your self-conceit, drive out your exultation and lessen in your eyes the exaggerated view you have taken of yourself. Avoid vying with God in His greatness or imitating Him in His supreme power or behaving arrogantly against Him in His reign, for God humbles every powerful one and abases every arrogant one. See that the people suffer no injustice from yourself, from your family or from your retainers. (417) If you do not act thus, you are guilty of oppression, and whosoever oppresses God's servants, He champions against him the cause of His servants, and the man whom God opposes, will be an enemy in God's eyes until he gives up (his wrong-doing). There is nothing that more easily causes the revocation of God's favors and provokes more quickly His opposition than obstinacy in oppression. He hearkens to the prayer of every oppressed one. Lo, God is the enemy of the oppressors, and whomsoever God treats as an enemy faces disaster in this world and in the life to come. Cherish most that conduct which conforms to the highest degree of rightfulness, is the most perfect expression of obedience to the Lord, and ensures most the contentment of the common people, for the discontent of the common people outweighs the contentment of the retinue, while the discontent of the retinue can be endured in case of the contentment of the common people. There are none among the subjects who prove more burdensome to the ruler in time of happiness than the retinue, are of less help to him in distress, feel more annoyance with equity, are more importunate in their demands, less grateful in spite of that for generosity, less inclined to excuse delays, and less constant in emergencies. But conformity with the interests of the rulers, help to the government and hatred of the enemy (are found in) the common people. Therefore lean toward them exclusively, as long as they obey you and follow your command. The most odious of your subjects in your eyes shall be those who

are most zealous in disclosing the faults of the people. For there are faults among the people, which it behoves you more than anyone else to cover up as well as to disapprove of their disclosure. It is your part to judge what lies open before you, and God will judge what is hidden from you. Dislike for the people what you dislike for yourself, keep shameful things hidden as far as possible; then God will do the same for your own affairs which you desire should remain concealed. Loose from the people the knot of any rancour, cut off from them the rope of any hatred and embark not upon a way of suspicion. Be not quick to believe a slanderer, because a slanderer is a cheater, even when assuming the language of friendly advice. Do not admit to your council an avaricious man incapable of doing good actions, nor a greedy man threatening you with poverty [4] and extolling greediness before you, nor a coward who will cause you to despair, for avarice, cowardice and greediness are (418) of the same nature, having distrust of God in common.

Keep in mind that the worst among your confidants and your viziers are those who earlier were confidants and viziers of the wicked, who participated in their crimes and rendered them any kind of service. Take not such men into your service and do not associate them with your rule in such manner as they were associated with the government of others. Be not favorably impressed by any guarantee they may offer you, for such men are the companions of tyrants and the aides of criminals, and they are like ravening wolves. You will find among the people those to supersede them, men superior to them in knowledge, who will give better advice, and who have already given affairs more careful attention, so that they have recognized their harmful aspects and have thought over how they should proceed therein. These will give you less trouble and better help, will be more affectionate towards you and less inclined toward others. They will not help a tyrant in tyranny nor a sinner in sin. Choose from among them a retinue to be your companions in private and to be present with you at your council. Among them give greatest honor to those who speak most truly, who take most care in preserving equity among your subjects, and who least often speak approvingly [5] to you of what is forbidden to you. Befriend those who are pious and veracious and those who are intelligent and noble. Detest most those among your companions and your viziers who are most fulsome in praise of your actions or seek to adorn you with merits you have not earned. Bid such to be silent about your accomplishments, for too abundant praise increases haughtiness and leads to pride. Moreover in such speech much falsehood intermingles with what is said in praise of the ruler, because the speaker instead of

[4] Cp. Surah ii.268: *"al-shaytānu yaᶜidukumu-'l-faqr"*.

[5] Read *munāṣaratan* instead of *munāẓaratan*. Nahj II, 48, l. 10 has *musāᶜadatan*.

confining himself to truth, tends to exaggerate. Do not hold good and bad men in the same esteem, because this would discourage the good from good actions and confirm the bad in bad actions.

Take knowledge that nothing permits a governor to put more trust in his subjects than the fact that he confers benefits upon them, removes (419) troubles from them and avoids anything that would be disagreeable to them. So act so as to be entitled to trust your subjects, because this feeling may save you much sorrow. Those most entitled to receive your trust are the good people who have received benefit from you, and those most deserving of your distrust are those who have suffered bad treatment from you. Understand the importance of this fact. Do not abandon a useful tradition, which has been maintained by good men before you and has secured social harmony and worked for the welfare of the common people, and do not introduce a new custom which violates in any way the ancient rightful traditions which have been established before you, lest the reward go to him who founded them and you be guilty of sin by destroying part of them. So study with application under men of learning and discuss with sages the consolidation of the customs upon their bases as well as their maintenance in conformity with the well-being of the people. Such a course of action recreates truth and destroys falsehood and serves as a guide to that state of things which secures the well-being of the people. Sound custom is a road to truth, leads towards knowledge, and directs its followers on the way to obedience to God.

KNOWLEDGE OF THE DIFFERENT CLASSES OF PEOPLE

Know that there are five classes of people, none of which can prosper without the others. They are: (1) The soldiers; (2) the governor's aides, such as the *qāḍīs*, the administrators, the secretaries and so on; (3) those who pay the *kharāj*, i.e. the toilers of the soil and others; (4) the merchants and the artisans; (5) and finally the lowest class, the poor and the needy. The soldiers are by God's permission the protection of the subjects, the adornment of the kingdom and the glory of Islam, a means both of security and of preservation. The sustenance of the soldiers rests exclusively upon the *kharāj* and the *fay'* granted them by God, which make it possible for them (420) to fight against His enemies, and are something on which they as well as their families whose needs they have to satisfy may rely conveniently. The soldiers and those who pay *kharāj* cannot subsist without the *qāḍīs*, the administrators and the secretaries, as to the administration of their affairs, the collection of what they need and the security of their individual as well as of their general interests. Nor can these at all do without the merchants and the artisans, who offer them the benefits of their crafts and of their bazaars and provide them with labor and with services they could not otherwise easily

obtain. The lowest class, that of the poor and needy, is so unfortunate as to depend on everybody else, although God suffices for all things. Each within the limits of his rights has claims upon the Amīr, which he (the Amīr) can fulfill only by taking due care for what God has laid upon him, seeking God's help towards its accomplishment, and only by accustoming himself to adhere to what is right whether it suits his desire or not. [Here follows a section on what the ruler should keep in mind with regard to his soldiers, which is here omitted for reasons of space. It exhorts to carefulness about the small details, encourages promotion by merit and special rewards for valor. Soldiers are to be highest of all subjects in the esteem of the ruler.]

THE AMĪR'S OBLIGATION TO CARE FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE AMONG THE PEOPLE.

Take good care for the administration of justice among the people, knowing the importance of the judicial office in God's sight. For the judicial office is the balance of God's justice which He has established on earth to vindicate the offended against the offender, to defend the weak against the strong and to carry out God's Law in accordance with its rules and established ways, which are the only basis upon which the welfare both of countries and of believing mankind can rest. So, to dispense judgment among the people, choose among your subjects the one who seems to you the best and who is the one most learned, the most forbearing, the most pious, one who will not grow impatient under the strain of affairs, get angry with the contenders, or be exasperated at the halting speech of stammerers. (Let him be) one who will show no remissness with regard to the tyranny of the oppressor, who does not incline toward greediness, is inaccessible to vanity and who does not prefer to be a man of little instead of outstanding knowledge. (Let him be) one who makes every endeavor to get knowledge (of the matter) in case of uncertainty, who (423) is most eager to find proofs, does not get annoyed at the exchange of arguments, shows the utmost patience in uncovering the facts and in bringing out clearly the explanation(s) (given by) the two contenders. (Let him be) one whom praise does not make self-conceited,who does not respond to the incitement of desire, who is not motivated by the urge to get publicity for himself. [6] Such is the man you should entrust with the office of *qāḍī*. Then watch carefully over his behavior in office and the way he administers justice. Grant him liberally such means as will allow him to live without (indulging in) corruption and without needing (to rob) the people. Assign him such a rank with you that no one

[6] Here the mss. C, D, S add: "By exalting the office of judge for anything other than God's sake." (I.e. exercising his functions in a spirit of vanity and personal ambition)

else could hope to get, that thus he may be secure from being deprived of your favor by other men and so not have to show favor to anyone out of fear nor blandish any one to win his praise. Honor him greatly in your *majlis,* attach him to your person, see his judgments are carried out and executed. Allow him aides whom he may choose for himself from among men of learning and piety. Choose also for your outlying districts judges who, as far as that is possible, will be as though you were there yourself. Keep an eye on their labors, on the judgments they render and the different decisions that are taken by them. Let there be no disagreement in the way they administer justice, because that would be a defeat for justice, a loss of face in religion and a cause of divisions. Disagreement among the judges occurs only when each of them holds to his own opinion, neglecting that of the *Imām.* Should two *qāḍīs* disagree, they are not entitled to persist in their disagreement in a judicial matter but should report to the *Imām* the matter about which they disagree, because all controversial matters arising among men should be brought before him. Nevertheless there is no power but in God.

THE CARE TO BE TAKEN BY THE AMĪR IN REGARD TO HIS ADMINISTRATORS

Give close attention to the matter of your administrators. You should appoint them with discernment, not by favor nor arbitrary choice, for favoritism in the administration brings to a head all kinds of tyranny, of treason against God (424) and of crime against men. Now the people's affairs are in no sound state, nor are those of the governors, unless there are some good men whose help they may invoke in their affairs and whom they may choose to take care of things which they themselves do not notice. So select for your administration men of piety and knowledge of the Law, men of learning and authority. Stick to men of experience, of intelligence and tact, from the good families and the religious and pious people, for these are more honorable and know better how to keep themselves within right limits, will indulge less in excessive desires and consider more carefully the consequences of things than others. So let them be your administrators and your aides, but appoint only your own followers among them. Then grant them generous salaries and ample allowances, because this will help them to behave honestly and to refrain from taking what passes through their hands. Besides, this will give you a case against them should they disobey your order or take from goods given you in trust. Further, do not relax your watchfulness over their administration nor neglect appointing as overseers over them trustworthy and veracious people. Such action on your part will greatly increase their administrative effectiveness, their friendly attitude toward the subjects, their keeping free from tyranny and their watch-

fulness over (their) aides—not to speak of the source of strength this represents for the subjects. Be careful not to appoint arrogant, haughty and overbearing men, nor such as love praise, applause and fame and long for the honor of this world, seeing that there is no honor except through fear of God. Should you find out that one of your administrators has allowed himself to betray your trust, or to commit a crime, concerning which you have against him concording statements from your agents and complaints by your subjects, consider this sufficient evidence and apply corporal punishment to him and chastise him according to his deeds. Then show him to the people, stigmatise him as a violator of trust and let him bear the infamy of the accusation, for this will serve as an example for others and as a warning, if God wills.

THE CARE THE AMĪR MUST TAKE OF THOSE WHO PAY THE KHARĀJ.

Take care of those who pay the *kharāj* and consider everything that will keep them in good estate, for upon their welfare rests that of (425) others and the latter will enjoy no welfare save through them. They and none other are the mainstay (of the State), and the people are dependent upon them. Therefore you should care for the cultivation of their land and the favorable state of their livelihood more than for the easy collection of their *kharāj*. Tax collecting indeed is impossible without land cultivation, and anyone who wants to collect taxes without (seeing to the land) cultivation, lays the country waste and destroys the people, a thing which cannot continue for more than a short time. But call together those who pay the *kharāj* from each locality and bid them make known to you the conditions in their localities, their welfare therein, the state of their land and about the perception of their *kharāj*. Then ask for suggestions by men of knowledge other than them, and if they complain to you about heavy *kharāj* or about some damage they have suffered by the cutting off of irrigation water, or soil destruction by inundation, or desiccation, or by some devastating plague, alleviate their burden by as much as you have hope that God will thereby restore to prosperity. Give orders that they be assisted in the restoration of their affairs, in as far as they themselves are not able to accomplish it. For God will allot to you happiness and reward as a result of the restoration, if He wills. Free them from anxiety with regard to this and do not consider as wearisome the fact that you eased their condition nor that you freed them from burdens. For this will really be for you a reserve store you have with them whereby they will be the better able to cultivate your land and to adorn your rule—not to speak of the fact that God will by it embellish your fame and that you will have them thereby collect reserves for your tomorrow. Then, by reason of the flourishing state

of their land, the easy collection of their *kharāj*, the manifestation of their affection, their goodly praise and the spread of welfare among them, you will obtain more consolation, greater happiness and better treasure than you would have obtained from them by pressure and overburdening. Moreover, should an emergency befall you, in which you have need to rely upon them, you will find, by favor of their strength, something to rely upon such as you would wish, thanks to the reserves you have stored up in them. (426) Their love for you, their confidence in you, their reliance upon your justice and your benevolence to which they have become used, as well as their knowledge of your innocence with regard to what just happened, will prove to be a force enabling them to support what you do impose upon them and they will readily submit to what you do exact from them. For justice, with God's permission, will make bearable the load you have imposed upon them, and the flourishing state of the country will be more useful than that of the treasury, because the source of the latter is the former, and if the land is laid waste, the source of the treasury is cut off, destroyed by the destruction of the soil. Destruction of the soil as well as the ruin of its inhabitants comes about when the minds of the governors are turned towards accumulation and when they have misgivings concerning the duration of their office and pay little heed to profit from warning examples. All they have to do is recognize that granting freedom from (tax) burdens and (in consequence) granting rest to the soil this year will mean profit next year, and that granting of the necessary expenses for the soil will insure easy collection of its *kharāj* and be better for their good name. But they say, as do those who talk to them: "Do not postpone this year's collection until the next, as though you were confident of remaining (in office) until then." This point of view of theirs on this, as well as that of those who confirm them therein, are really amazing. For the governor is faced with two alternatives only: either he will remain (in office) until next year and will have ameliorated his land and made his subjects prosperous, in which case he will see the favorable results of his measures, derive therefrom consolation, increase of joy and decrease of anxiety, and deserve for it a splendid reward from his Lord, or else his functions will be finished before the coming year, in which case he will be even more in need of having accomplished ameliorations and conferred benefits, of his praise being voiced lavishly, of supplication for him being abundant, and his reward with God excellent. On the contrary, if he has gathered into his treasuries for somebody else the spoils he won by laying the country waste and by destroying the subjects, the profit will go to this other person and the sin involved will fall upon himself. What really lives on of the doings of governors is their fame, for they will be remembered only by their conduct and their deeds, good or bad. The wealth will inevitably come to nothing and the profit thereof

go to another person by some turn of fate which comes upon them, so that they become an object of regret to their (former) owners. Should you desire (427) to know the consequences of good and evil deeds, and how upsetting this is take a look at the history of the good and the bad governors of the past. Will you find among those whose conduct among the people was good, whose charges on them were light and who generously granted rights, anyone to whom this attitude has brought any damage, be it in the strength of his rule, in the pleasures of his body, or in his good reputation among the people? Or will you find among those whose conduct was bad among the people and whose charges were heavy on them, anyone who has derived from this attitude such strength in his rule, as to compensate for what he has lost both in time and in eternity therefrom? So do not care for the riches you may collect, but care rather for the good deeds you may accumulate and for the alms you distribute, for the benefactor himself gets helped seeing that God is the master of success and the One who guides towards the right goal.

WHAT THE AMĪR SHOULD OBSERVE WITH REGARD TO HIS SECRETARIES

Watch carefully your secretaries and take cognizance of each man's qualification for the task you expect him to undertake. There are different ranks among the secretaries, and to each rank belongs a particular set of duties which does not concern any other rank. So you should appoint for the execution of your most important tasks top officials chosen for that in accordance with each man's capacity for carrying out the task with which he is entrusted by you. Give the secretarial work concerning your private correspondence, in which you reveal your stratagems and your hidden secrets, to those of them who possess the highest training (*adab*) and will be the most helpful to you in any important business, who are endowed with the soundest judgment in these matters and with the greatest skill in management, who are trustworthy counselors and who recognize the distance separating them from you in spite of the confidential character of these secrets. Let them be men whom favor does not cause to grow insolent nor kindness make proud, in whom appears no informal behavior in privacy, intended to let you feel your indebtedness to them, and who show no desire to display such behavior in public. Let them be those by whom the dispatching of the incoming correspondence may be done with perfect (428) convenience, both in receiving the mail arriving for you and in answering in your name. Let them be men who will not weaken a tie they have tied in your interest nor be too weak to untie a tie which has been tied against you. Nevertheless let them be men who are not without knowledge of themselves and of their own value in affairs, for one who does not know

his own value, is still more ignorant of the value of others. Besides this, entrust the wording of your correspondence, the records of your *kharāj* books and the muster-rolls of your soldiers to secretaries whom you select with utmost care, because these things are your key functions and the most useful to you and to your subjects. Therefore do not rely, in your selection of these officials, upon your perspicacity or upon your feeling of confidence in them, for there are many men who utterly foil the perspicacity of those in power and their confidence in them. Select them rather on the evidence of their record in connection with the functions they have had to perform before your time, for this is a sound basis on which men may reach a judgment about each other's affairs. Place in control of each of these functions of authority a head official chosen from among trustworthy and sensible people, such as do not grow weary under big tasks and with whom the small ones do not get lost. Besides, do not fail to keep an eye on their attitude in office and observe their activities and adroitly explore whatever there may be about their condition which is unknown to you, in order that you may learn how they treat the people in the exercise of those functions you have entrusted to them. For indeed many secretaries are full of pride, arrogance and self-conceit, and quickly get angry with people, disgusted with litigation and impatient about persistent entreaties, yet the people cannot but seek to present their demands, and when (the secretaries) overwhelm them with delays and with rough treatment, they hold you responsible for this and cast the trouble which it causes upon you(r) (shoulders). In this (issue) there is involved a great deal of the soundness of your power as well as of the reward which God may bestow upon you, if He wills. (429).

WHAT THE AMĪR SHOULD KEEP IN MIND WITH REGARD TO MERCHANTS AND ARTISANS

Take good care of the merchants and artisans and occupy yourself with their welfare. They are a support for the people who profit from their skills and from what they import for their use and comfort, by land and by sea, from the summits of the mountains, from the cities of the enemy country and from (places) where most men not only would not know where to find these goods which they need nor be able to get them out, but would not be capable of any of the activities these men carry out by themselves. Therefore they have their rights and privileges because of which it is necessary to respect them. So take care of their affairs and write to your administrators about them. Nevertheless, in spite of this, you should keep in mind that with many among them there is to be found evil avarice and great greed as well as the practice of storing up merchandise with a view to price increases thus imposing shortages upon the people with whom

they deal in an arbitrary way. This inflicts considerable harm upon the people and is a spot on the governors' honor. Therefore keep (the merchants) from (acting in) this (way) and give them orders in this sense, and should anybody disobey your order, inflict upon him a painful punishment, if God wills.

THE AMĪR'S DUTIES WITH REGARD TO THE POOR AND NEEDY

Do not neglect the interests of the lowest class, that of the poor and the needy, nor (omit) to assign to them a share of the treasury of God, to be distributed among them in accordance with the legal share of the alms established for them by God in His Book. This you shall set apart in your fiscal books. The inhabitants of any one place are not more entitled to it than those of any other, but those furthest away are entitled to it as much as those nearest at hand. The interests of all have been commended to you and you should not allow yourself be diverted from taking care of them by the care you take for others, for each has a right to a share from you which you have no excuse for suppressing. Enquire about the needs of the poor and destitute whose wants may not have become known to you, whom the overseers do not deign notice, (430) and whom people do not think important enough to bring their need before you. Establish as a guardian for them someone on whose advice you can fully rely, someone most scrupulous in accomplishing good deeds and most humble before God, one of those who do not despise the weak and do not magnify the powerful. Command him to bring their affairs to your attention, then take good care of these, for the beast in poor condition among the flock has more need of attention and solicitude than the fleshy ones. You should also take care of the victims of chronic disease and misfortune, the weak and weary, [7] and the hidden poor who do not come out to rely on what they may get by begging. Therefore assign to them a share from the treasury of God, endeavoring thereby to please God and to draw near to Him, for actions are pure only if the intentions are sincere.

MANNERS AND CONDUCT WHICH AN AMĪR SHOULD OBSERVE IN HIS OWN PERSON

Even if you show great zeal in granting everybody the right to which he is entitled, it is unavoidable that a number among them should want to talk with you personally about their necessities. This is always a charge and a burden on governors, and will be a burdensome duty, except for him, to whom God grants relief therein, but in compensation his reward will weigh heavy in the balance. So give the needy a part of your attention and a time at which you

[7] I read: *Yatam.*

receive them in audience and listen to any matter they may address to you, extending your protection to them with condescension and supporting patiently the diffidence of the diffident among them and the stammering of the stammering without showing either scorn or anger. To whomsoever among them you grant (anything) do it in a pleasant way, and from whomsoever you withhold anything, deny (it) to him with gentleness and kindly refusal. There is nothing more pernicious to the affairs of governors than procrastination and wilfully putting things off from day to day and from hour to hour and allowing oneself to be distracted by the unnecessary things from the necessary ones. Therefore fix for each business you have to attend to a (definite) time at which, without fail you care for it, and then concentrate your zeal upon it. Accomplish the work each day imposes upon you and assign (431) to each hour its full measure, but see that you set aside for your dealings with God the best moments, although indeed all moments are God's, if in them you have the right intention. Give no single thing preference over the commandments of your religion, day and night, that you may acquit yourself thereof completely and in full. Do not keep yourself hidden (from the public) for any length of time because this will render you suspect and cause you trouble, people being human beings who do not understand what they do not see. Choose carefully your chamberlains and include among them no one who shows selfishness in his relation with the people, or arrogance or lack of equity. Do not grant to anyone of your family or of your retinue a landed estate, nor permit him to acquire one, if thereby it causes prejudice to his neighbors.

Do not refuse a reconciliation which your enemy may offer you, because peace means a quiet life for the soldiers, a diminution of anxious tension and security for the country, but should power and opportunity give you the upper hand over your enemy, then repudiate the treaty with him and invoke God's help against him. Behave as cautiously as you can toward your enemy, when he offers peace to you, because this (offer) may (conceal) deceit and treachery, but if you conclude a treaty, keep it faithfully and respect your obligation(s) with fidelity and truthfulness. Beware of betraying the compact of God and violating His (guarantee of) protection, for God has established His compact and His protection as a security which by His clemency He has promoted between men. Patience in a sorrowful situation which you hope will be removed is better than treachery from which you always have to fear that punishment and harmful consequences will result. Beware of shedding blood hastily when this is unlawful, for there is nothing that brings a greater punishment than this. And do not seek to fortify a kingship liable to decay, while not knowing what advantage will result to you from its continuance and from your continuance with it, at the price of the damnation of

your soul and of your being exposed to the wrath of your Lord. [8] Beware of being pleased with yourself and of relying upon yourself, for this is considered by Satan as one of his golden opportunities. Beware of doing things hastily before their time, of postponing them when their time has arrived and they may be done, of pressing them when they are uncertain, and of being inactive when they are certain. For everything has its place and every event has its (right) moment.

Ecole Libre des Hautes Etudes, New York. GERARD SALINGER.

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[8] The corresponding sentence in the *Nahj al-balāghah* II, 58 line 13 to 59 line 1 is clearer: "And do not seek to fortify your rule (*sulṭānaka*) by spilling forbidden blood, for such action will weaken it and lessen its strength. Nay (this action) will suppress it and transfer it (into other hands)."

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The Rev. Harold Spencer, Principal

CONSTITUTIONAL DEBATES IN PAKISTAN. I

Pakistan became an independent nation on August 14, 1947 but has not yet adopted a Constitution. The process of debating one involves many deep issues of Islamic self-definition. It is both important and revealing, therefore, to study the course of Muslim thinking as reflected in the transactions of the Constituent Assembly before its dissolution by the Governor General on October 24, 1954. The five and a half years of work that went into making a Draft Constitution epitomise many of the inner problems involved both in defining the concept of an Islamic State and in establishing such a State in the context of the 20th century. These problems go far toward explaining the reasons why Pakistan, in contrast to India, has hitherto failed to evolve the precise legal form of its charter. In view of the exacting and searching nature of this constitutional task, and in view of the considerable reflection of the contemporary Muslim mind afforded by the official reports, it is proposed to present the main course of the constitutional debates in three articles.

No reader with a mind for the vastness of the issues at stake or for the intricacy of the legal task undertaken by Islamic idealism can approach the study of these discussions without a lively sympathy and a sharp concern for their ultimate sequel, as yet undetermined. Opportunity will be taken in the third article, in July, to summarize briefly the march of events since September 1954. But the preoccupation of the series is with the sessions of the Constituent Assembly, particularly those from October 1953 to September 1954. For here the issues confronting Pakistan emerged most clearly. Here the observer finds the shape of the inward debate in the soul of contemporary Islam concerning its appropriate political form. The manoeuvres subsequent to the dissolution of the first Constituent Assembly transfer to other auspices the essential problems. The Governor General justified that dissolution on the ground that the Assembly had ceased to reflect the interests of the people. Be that as it may, the Assembly certainly reflected their disparities of view—disparities implicit from the beginning. "Pakistan" as a concept under the leadership of Jinnah brought unity of action to create; it did not bring unity of mind to define.

When, in August 1947, Pakistan and India became sovereign independent states, Dominions within the British Commonwealth of Nations, with the right later to secede, the Government of India Act of 1935 became, with certain adaptations, the basis of Pakistan's interim government. British rule passed to the Constituent Assembly, elected by the Provincial Assemblies in July 1947. This body was given two separate functions: to prepare a Constitution and to act as a Federal Legislative Assembly or Parliament until that Constitution came into effect.

The government was to be carried on by a Cabinet of Ministers collectively responsible to the Constituent Assembly and also members of that Assembly. Although the Governor General was formally appointed by the Crown, he was nominated by the Pakistani cabinet. The Government of India Act of 1935 defines those subjects that are the responsibility of the Central Government and those that are the responsibility of the provinces. In the provinces the administrative and legislative machinery remains identical with that of British India.

In October 1953, the Constituent Assembly was composed of 59 or 60 Muslim League members and 14 opposition members, each of whom represented a million people. Many were ministers or important leaders in the provinces. The Assembly was indirectly elected from the same franchise as the Provincial Assemblies which elected it, i.e., a restricted property or educational franchise. As a result large land and business interests were heavily represented. If the elections to the Provincial Assemblies and the Central Assembly had been held on the basis of adult or adult male suffrage, a much wider representation would have resulted.

Until 1947, the Muslim League embraced all who were in favor of Pakistan. The establishment of an Islamic State was the chief idea its leaders put before the masses. The League had no clear social and economic program to offer after independence was won. In the interests of solidarity it had often been intentionally vague.

The Hindu members of the Constituent Assembly represented an estimated 12.9 per cent of the population of Pakistan. Most of them were former leaders of the Congress Party who had held responsible positions in government service, commerce, and education. They have been excluded from both the central and the provincial cabinets in Pakistan's one-party government.

The Christians, about 1.5 per cent of the population, the Buddhist, Parsis, and other groups, have at present no representatives.

Five important milestones marked the road of progress toward the Constitution:

(1) March 12, 1949, when the Constituent Assembly passed an "Objectives Resolution" and voted to appoint a committee of 25-35 persons who should recommend the main principles on which the future Constitution should be based.

(2) October 6, 1950, when an Interim Report of the Committee on Fundamental Rights of the Citizens of Pakistan and on Matters Relating to Minorities was adopted by the Assembly.

(3) December 22, 1952, when the Report of the Basic Principles Committee (B.P.R.) was presented to the Assembly.

(4) October 7, 1953, when the deadlock over the structure of the Federal Legislature was resolved and the debating of the 80-page Report began in earnest.

(5) September 21, 1954, when the Basic Principles Report, as amended, was adopted by the Assembly.

THE OBJECTIVES RESOLUTION

The text of the Objectives Resolution adopted by the Constituent Assembly was as follows: [1])

In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful: Whereas sovereignty over the entire Universe belongs to God Almighty alone, and the authority which he has delegated to the State of Pakistan through its people for being exercised within the limits prescribed by Him is a sacred trust; This Constituent Assembly, representing the people of Pakistan, resolves to frame a constitution for the sovereign independent State of Pakistan; Wherein the State shall exercise its powers and authority through the chosen representatives of the people; Wherein the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance, and social justice as enunciated by Islam shall be fully observed; Wherein the Muslims shall be enabled to order their lives in the individual and collective spheres in accord with the teachings and requirements of Islam, as set out in the Holy Qur'ān and the Sunnah; Wherein adequate provisions shall be made for the minorities freely to profess and practice their religions and develop their cultures;...Wherein shall be guaranteed fundamental rights including equality of status, of opportunity and before law, social, economic and political justice, and freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship and association, subject to law and public morality; Wherein adequate provision shall be made to safeguard the legitimate interests of minorities and backward and depressed classes; Wherein the independence of the judiciary shall be fully secured...

On presenting the Objectives Resolution to the Assembly on March 7, 1949, the Prime Minister, the late Liaquat ᶜAlī Khān, declared that by achieving independence the people had only won an opportunity of building up a country and its polity in accordance with their ideals. A neutral State, wherein the Muslims would merely be free to profess and practise their religion, would be, he said, the very negation of the ideals that prompted the demand for Pakistan. Those ideals should form the cornerstone of the State. The investment of power in the people eliminated any danger of the establishment of a theocracy. Since Islam recognized neither priesthood nor other sacerdotal authority, the question of a theocracy simply would not arise. "If there are any who still use the word 'theocracy' in the same breath as the polity of Pakistan, they are either laboring under a grave misapprehension or indulging in mischievous propaganda. When we use the word 'democracy' in the Islamic sense, it pervades all aspects of our life. It relates to our system of government and to our society with equal validity, because one of the greatest contributions of Islam has been the idea of the equality of all men." Under the "truly liberal government" envisaged for Pakistan, the minorities would in no way be hindered from professing or practising their religion or developing their cultures.

Before its adoption, the Resolution was strenuously debated for five days. Mr. B. K. Datta stated the objections of the Congress Party:

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[1] Unless otherwise indicated, all quoted material comes from the *Constituent Assembly of Pakistan Debates, Official Reports.*

"Politics and religion belong to two different regions of the mind. Politics belongs to the domain of reason. But as you intermingle it with religion, as this Preamble to this nobly conceived Resolution does, you pass into the other phase of faith." The clause "as enunciated by Islam," he said, at once created a ruling race, the patricians of Pakistan, and condemned the minorities to an inferior status. The nation would remain communally divided into two distinct houses, the minorities tasting neither democracy, nor freedom, nor equality, nor social justice, but being merely tolerated. The leader of the Opposition, Mr. S. C. Chattopadhyaya, also protested vigorously. "You are determined to create a *Herrenvolk*... This Resolution in its present form epitomises the spirit of reaction." For the minorities "A thick curtain is drawn against all rays of hope, all prospects of an honorable life." The Hindus were alarmed by such statements as the following, made by the late learned scholar, Maulānā Shabbir Osmānī: "It should not dismay us if we are branded as conservatives and reactionaries. The Islamic State means a State which is run on the exalted and excellent principles of Islam." Such a State "can be run only by those who believe in those principles. People who do not subscribe to those ideas may have a place in the administrative machinery of the State but they cannot be entrusted with the responsibility of framing the general policy of the State or dealing with matters vital to its safety and integrity."

The Ministers who spoke for the government emphatically repudiated the accusation that the privileges and status of non-Muslims would be less than those of Muslims. A non-Muslim, said Mr. Liaquat ᶜAlī Khān, *could* head the administration of an Islamic State, and non-Muslims would be welcomed into the government services of Pakistan. The Foreign Minister, Sir Zafrullāh Khān, deplored the reputation for intolerance the Muslims had earned for themselves and asserted that Islam itself had from the beginning inculcated the widest tolerance. The minorities would be protected by the very teaching of the Qur'ān guaranteeing freedom of conscience. Sardar A. R. Nishtar declared that an Islamic Constitution would save the minorities from the tyranny of the majority because the majority in Pakistan would be answerable to God.

Mr Mian Muḥammad Iftikhāruddīn, owner of the *Pakistan Times*, expressed the only Muslim criticism of the Resolution. He deplored its failure to guarantee political, social, and economic justice. "The fight in this country is not going to be between Hindus and Muslims. The battle in time to come will be between Hindu have-nots and Muslim have-nots on the one hand and Muslim and Hindu upper and middle classes on the other."

Several government leaders argued that Islamic democracy offered a middle way between Capitalism and Communism. Mr. Nishtar said: "If you are really serious in opposing Capitalism and Communism,

then put forward an alternative social system. We the Muslims believe that a society based upon the Islamic principles of freedom, equality and social justice, to the Muslims and non-Muslims, believers and non-believers, men and women, poor and rich, everybody, our own citizens and foreigners, can be the best alternative." Maulānā S. Osmānī asserted, "The Islamic system of economy is the only system which can meet Communism on its own grounds. Islam has no truck with Capitalism. The Islamic State brings about an equitable distribution of wealth by employing methods peculiar to it and distinct from communistic practices."

The Preamble to the Resolution was retained by a vote of 21 to 10. All of the 23 or more amendments brought by the opposition were defeated.

INTERIM REPORT ON FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

On October 6, 1950, after two days of debate, the Constituent Assembly adopted the Interim Report of the Committee on Fundamental Rights, the first section of the Constitution to be created. On August 12, 1947, the Assembly had named 10 Muslims and 5 Hindus, who with some 7 others, were to constitute the Committee. On May 26, 1948, the Committee held its first meeting and decided to form two subcommittees, one on Fundamental Rights, the other on Matters Relating to Minorities. The subcommittee on Fundamental Rights had submitted its Report a month later, but the Report on Matters Relating to Minorities had not been prepared. It was finally adopted by the House on May 22, 1952. The entire Report was incorporated in the Draft Constitution finished in September 1954 but was never a part of the Basic Principles Committee's Report.

On October 4, 1950, Prime Minister Liaquat ᶜAlī Khān moved to consider the Interim Report on Fundamental Rights, saying that it elaborated on the Objectives Resolution. Its single idea was the dignity of man.

Some of the Hindu leaders favored postponing consideration until the entire report, including the portion on the minorities, could be studied as a whole. Two Muslims urged the rejection of the Report on the grounds that it failed to provide the kind of social and economic order that would guarantee the masses true freedom. All the speakers recognized that the Assembly was under criticism because of little progress in Constitution-making. Part I, defining citizenship, was adopted with little discussion. Part II, Fundamental Rights, consisting of 15 articles, was finally adopted practically verbatim after many amendments had been rejected. Article 1 (a) "All citizens are equal before law" and (b) "All persons are entitled to the equal protection of law," was passed without discussion. Article 2, "No person shall be deprived of life or liberty, save in accordance with law," was adopted

after four series of amendments seeking to safeguard liberty had been defeated by votes of 35-37 to 14-15. Mr. B. K. Datta's amendments aimed to provide safeguards against preventive detention and to protect civil rights. He pointed out that in the preceding forty years Britain had played havoc with the liberty of persons so that the sensibilities of the people had been blunted. There ought to be no law allowing arbitrary arrests, detention and exile without trial. His amendments, borrowing wording from Article 9 of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights and from the Constitutions of Iraq, Turkey and other countries, would have required that every executive order to detain a person should be scrutinized by experienced judges and that the detenu should have an opportunity to know the specific charges brought against him, to consult a lawyer of his own choice, and to make representations refuting the allegations. Article 3, "The right of a citizen to move the High Court for a writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, except in case of an external or internal threat to the security of the State or other grave emergency," was the object of amendments by four members of the Assembly who feared the vagueness of the phrase "other grave emergency," but, like article 2, was adopted in its original form.

Adopted without controversy were articles 4, prohibiting discrimination on the grounds of religion, race, caste, with regard to access to public places: 5, prohibiting slavery, forced labor, torture, or inhumane punishment: 6, prohibiting the employment of children in factories, mines, and similar places: 7, declaring every duly qualified citizen eligible to appointment in the service of the State irrespective of religion, race, caste, sex, descent or place of birth": 8, prohibiting the appropriation of personal property except in accordance with law: 9, guaranteeing every citizen freedom of speech, association, occupation and assembly; the right to move freely throughout Pakistan; the right to equal pay for equal work: 10, guaranteeing freedom of conscience and the free profession, practice and propagation of religion: 11, 12, guaranteeing every religious denomination freedom to manage its religious affairs and to acquire articles for religious purposes: 13, guaranteeing that no person attending an educational institution should be required to participate in religious instruction or worship other than that of his own community or denomination; 14, guaranteeing that no citizen be compelled to pay taxes for the propagation of any religion not his own: 15, prescribing that save with regard to matters governed by the personal law of a community, any law in force in Pakistan at the time of the commencement of the Constitution should be void if repugnant to rights here laid down. Part III of the Interim Report consisted of Directive Principles relating to untouchability. The official Report of the Debates gives only the text of the first article: "The notion of untouchability being inconsistent with human dignity its practice is declared unlawful." Mr. D. N. Datta moved that

the words "shall be an offense in accordance with law" should be added and that, in order to be justiciable, the article should stand among the Fundamental Rights. The Muslims, not wishing to be accused of interfering in a matter commonly associated with the Hindu religion, hesitated to accept these amendments. Several Hindu members insisted that untouchability had nothing to do with religion but was a social evil to be eradicated as soon as possible by law. The Assembly finally adopted Mr. Datta's additional words in article 16 of Fundamental Rights.

Unfortunately certain constitutional proposals adopted in 1953 were considered by some members to run counter to certain articles in this Interim Report (especially 7, 14). When the entire Report on Fundamental Rights and Matters Relating to Minorities was reviewed in August 1954, the minority party contended that some of its high principles had been violated by the constitutional proposals already adopted.

REPORT OF THE BASIC PRINCIPLES COMMITTEE

On December 22, 1952, after nearly four years of work, the Committee on Basic Principles presented its Report to the Constituent Assembly.[2] The Report was signed by 21 Muslims, one dissenting, and by 3 Hindus. Four other Muslims of high position had died before the work was finished.

The Report consisted of 255 recommendations, or paragraphs numbered seriatim, arranged in 16 parts. Part I had three Chapters: i, the "Preamble", consisting of the Objectives Resolution; ii, "Directive Principles of State Policy"; iii, "Procedure for Preventing Legislation Repugnant to the Qur'ān and the Sunnah." This part and the next three—"The Federation and Its Territories", "The Federation" (Executive and Legislature), and "The Units" (Executive and Legislature)—contained the main Islamic provisions found in the document. The names of the members of the Committee who objected to certain paragraphs were given. Asterisks indicated dissent and are reproduced here.

Eighteen Directive Principles formed Chapter ii of Part I. The first and the fifth, declaring that the principles enunciated in the Objectives Resolution should guide the activities of the State, are here omitted. In October 1953, the fifth was deleted as redundant. The other Directive Principles were as follows, with the amendments adopted in October 1953 given in parenthesis:

(2) "Steps, particularly those specified below, should be taken in the various spheres of governmental activities to enable the Muslims

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[2] *Report of the Basic Principles Committee.* Printed by the Manager, Government of Pakistan Press, 1952.

to order their lives individually and collectively in accordance with the Holy Qur'ān and the Sunnah.

(a) "Facilities should be provided for them to understand what life in accordance with the Holy Qur'ān and the Sunnah means, and the teaching of the Holy Qur'ān to the Muslim should be made compulsory;

(b) "Prohibition of drinking, gambling and prostitution in all their various forms;

(c) "Elimination of Ribā (interest) as soon as it may be possible to do so; (Amended: "as and when")

(d) "Promotion and maintenance of Islamic moral standards; and

(e) "Proper organization of Zakāt (charity), Waqf (endowment) and Mosques.

(3) "An organization should be set up for making the teachings of Islam known to the people, and for *Amr-bil-maʿrūf* and *Nahi-ʿanil-munkar*." (Thou shalt's and Thou shalt's not's) (Transferred to the operative portion of the Constitution)

(4) "Suitable steps should be taken for bringing the existing laws into conformity with the Islamic principles, and for the codification of such injunctions of the Holy Qurʾān and the Sunnah as can be given legislative effect." (The following addition was voted: "duly safeguarding, as has been enjoined by the Holy Qurʾān and the Sunnah, the personal laws of the non-Muslims.")

(6) "The State should endeavour to secure basic necessities of life like food, clothing, housing, education and medical relief for those citizens of Pakistan, irrespective of caste or creed, who are temporarily or permanently incapable of earning their livelihood due to unemployment, infirmity, sickness or any other similar reason."

(7) "The economic policy of the State should be so directed as to secure all round well-being of the people irrespective of creed, race or colour and should be so operated as:

(a) to improve the standard of living of the common man;

(b) to prevent the concentration of wealth and means of production in the hands of a few to the detriment of the common man; and

(c) to ensure equitable adjustment of the rights of labour and the peasantry in order to prevent their exploitation."

(8) "The State should make every effort to remove illiteracy from the country within the minimum possible period." (added: "by the introduction of free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years within a period of fifteen years from the coming into force of the Constitution.")

(9) "It should be the endeavour of the State to enable, within the minimum possible period, the population of different areas, through training and education, to participate fully in all forms of national activity and service." (Amended: "activity in defense and other services.")

(10) "The State should endeavour to discourage amongst the Muslims of Pakistan parochial, tribal, racial and other similar un-Islamic feelings and inculcate in them the spirit to keep foremost in their minds the fundamental unity and solidarity of the Millat and the requirements of the ideology and the mission for the implementation of which Pakistan came into being." (Amended: "racial, sectarian and Provincial prejudices as well as other...")

(11) "The State should endeavour to strengthen the bonds of unity amongst the Muslim countries of the world."

(12) "It should be the endeavour of the State to promote peace, security and goodwill among the peoples of the world." (Combination of (11) and (12): "The State should endeavour to strengthen the bonds of unity amongst Muslim countries and to promote peace and goodwill among the peoples of the world.")

(13) "Only such person should be elected as Head of the State who, in the opinion of the electors, possesses ability, character, integrity and piety, and who is fit to conduct the affairs of the State in accordance with the Objectives Resolution." (Amended: "fit to perform his duties and obligations in accordance...")

(14) "It should be the endeavour of the State to effect the separation of the Judiciary from the Executive within three years."

(15) "The State should protect all the legitimate rights and interests of the non-Muslim communities of Pakistan."

(16) "The State should endeavour to ensure that children, youth and women are not subjected to exploitation or made to enter avocations (sic) unsuited to their age and sex."

(17) "Steps should be taken to provide suitable financial assistance to the dependents of those Government servants who die before retirement without making adequate provision for their maintenance."

(18) "The State should ensure that people should obtain justice in courts of law free of payment in any form to the State." (This was voted down.)

Five new articles were adopted in October 1953. They relate to reducing the pay of government servants in various categories; international amity; the right to an adequate means of livelihood; just and humane conditions of work; and the application of these principles as a guide in legislation and administration. The Directive Principles were not to be enforceable in any court of law.

The heart of Chapter iii of Part I was paragraph 3: "No Legislature should enact any law which is repugnant to the Holy Qur²ān and the Sunnah." The complicated procedure for preventing legislation repugnant to the faith was given in paragraphs 4-6, but was destined to be scrapped.

Paragraph 5 set out in detail the procedure for dealing with "repugnant" legislation in the Federal Legislature. The Head of the State

was to appoint, for a period of five years, a Board consisting of not more than five persons well versed in Islamic laws. A bill finally passed by the Federal Legislature, together with any objection taken in either or both Houses, at any stage of the legislation, was to be referred by the Head of the State to the Board. If the Board unanimously agreed that the bill or any provision thereof contravened the provisions of paragraph 3, the Head of the State was to return the bill to a joint sitting of the two houses with a message suggesting the lines along which the bill should be considered. A bill objected to as a whole or in part could not be passed except "by the majority of the members present and voting which included the majority of the Muslim members present and voting." An amended bill was to be forwarded to the Head of the State for his assent.

Paragraph 6 related to a similar board and procedure for each Unit.

Paragraph 7 read: "The provisions of this chapter should not apply to Money Bills." (Later amended).

Other sections noteworthy for their Islamic bearing were as follows:

Part II "The Federation and its Territories": "The name of the State should be Pakistan..." (Paragraph 9, subheading 1). (On November 2, 1953, the name "the Islamic Republic of Pakistan" was adopted.)

Part III "The Federation": "... The Head of the State should be a Muslim and should be elected at a joint sitting of both Houses of the Federal Legislature" * (Paragraph 13). The oath required of him ended with the words "in my public and personal life, I will endeavour to fulfill the obligations and duties enjoined by the Holy Qur'ān and the Sunnah." (Paragraph 19).

"Seats [in the Federal Legislature] should be allocated to the communities in the House of the People, in accordance with... [a] Table of Seats reserved for Muslims, for Scheduled Castes, for Hindus other than scheduled Castes, for Christians, for Buddhists and others, for Parsis" * (Paragraph 46 and Schedule II. * (An amendment provided that the table should "be suitable modified in accordance with the composition of the House of the People.")

"... separate electoral rolls should be maintained for Muslims as well as for every minority community for whom seats have been reserved and no person who does not belong to the community for which the electoral roll purports to be, should be included in that electoral roll." * (Paragraph 49, subheading 6).

Part IV "The Units:" "The Head of a Unit should be appointed by the Head of the State" (Paragraph 83). He was not required to be a Muslim. (Since the oath required of the Head of the Unit as given in the Report included a pledge of loyalty to the Qur'ān and the Sunnah, paragraph 86 was later amended to make the oath applicable only to a Muslim and to provide a different oath for a non-Muslim.)

Seats in the Unicameral Legislature of a Unit were to be reserved for Muslims and minority communities, and separate electoral rolls, were to be kept. * (Paragraph 105, subheading 6).

THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY DEBATES ON THE BASIC PRINCIPLES REPORT OCTOBER 7—NOVEMBER 14, 1953

For more than nine months after the presentation of the Report of the Basic Principles Committee on December 22, 1952, the making of the Constitution was deadlocked because the recommendations dealing with the structure of the Federal Legislature failed to satisfy all Units. The Constituent Assembly refused to study the Report as a whole until a different plan for the representation of the Units had been substituted.

The Fifteenth Session of the Constituent Assembly opened on September 21, 1953 but adjourned to October 7. Between October 7 and 26 the Assembly spent twelve days, sometimes sitting twice a day, in debate on the Report as a whole. The opposition roundly attacked both its basic philosophy and particular provisions. The majority of the Muslim League Party defended the Report, but there was also earnest and vigorous Muslim criticism.

On October 27, began the voting of the articles seriatim. Mr. A. K. Brohi, Minister of Law, served as party whip. It was a tremendous task. There were long hours of debate on some of 350 proposed amendments and the phraseology of the 255 clauses in the sixteen-part report.

On November 2, 1953, the Hindu minority, defeated by an overbearing majority, walked out. After the departure of these twelve men, progress was swift because the amendments in their names were not moved.

On November 14, Mr. Brohi recommended that further consideration of the Report be postponed. He pointed out that the most essential and the most controversial matters had been covered—namely, the Islamic character of the Constitution, the federal structure, and the provincial set-up. The Constituent Assembly was preoccupied by a coming Budget Session, and some of its members were to be involved in the political campaign preceding the elections set for February 16, 1954 in East Pakistan.

The debates of those twenty-seven days of constitutional verbal travail are so important and range over so many issues that they deserve detailed exposition here. The analysis can be suitably divided into: Arguments on the Report as a whole, lasting until October 26, and Voting on the Directives and provisions on "repugnancy." Only the first can be taken up in the present article.

DEBATING THE REPORT AS A WHOLE

On October 7, Prime Minister Muḥammad ʿAlī submitted a new formula, accepted by his ministers and party, for representation in

the Federal Legislature. This formula, he declared, would "ensure to each unit an equitable share in the governance" of the country and would help weld the two parts of Pakistan together.

The proposed merger of the provinces and states of West Pakistan into a single unit, if achieved, will render the formula obsolete. Yet because the plan figures in the Debates, it is given here as condensed in the official *Pakistan, 1953-1954*:

"Special features (of those proposals) are that the Federal Legislature would be bi-cameral. Pakistan, for the purpose of representation to the Federal Legislature, would be divided into five Units. There would be a Lower House, to be called the House of Representatives, in which the Units are to be represented on a population basis and a smaller Upper House, to be called the Senate, in which each of the Units would enjoy equal representation. Both Houses would be given equal powers. In case of difference of opinion, a measure is required to be passed at a joint session by a majority, but this majority must include at least 30 per cent of the members present and voting from each zone. For this purpose East Pakistan would constitute one zone and the four Units, commonly known as West Pakistan, would constitute another zone. A vote of confidence or no-confidence is also to be subject to a joint session subject to the 30 per cent saving clause."

The Assembly voted to adopt the Prime Minister's formula, and consideration of the Basic Principles Report got under way "in an atmosphere of patriotic concentration."

Mr. B. K. Datta, the experienced parliamentarian who led the attack on the Objectives Resolution in 1949, made the first speech for the opposition. In a 25 page address, expertly written, he subjected to searching criticism the intellectual and ethical foundations of the Report as a whole and examined thoroughly many of its articles. He described the "fabric of the Report" as "interwoven with four main features, namely (i) an attempt to make the Constitution Islamic in character (ii) maintenance of parity between the two wings of the country (iii) separate electorates for all the minority communities and even some sub-communities and (iv) centralization of power as far as practicable. He deplored that the framers of the Basic Principles of the Constitution seemed hardly to have had their eyes on the basic problems of the nation, that is, the dire poverty and unemployment and extremely low standard in general. After stating that the amendments toward economic amelioration offered by the opposition members of the Basic Principles Committee had been defeated by sheer force of numbers, Mr. Datta proceeded to consider the attempt to make the Constitution Islamic.

According to the late Prime Minister Liaquat ᶜAlī Khān, Mr. Datta recalled, Muhammad ᶜAlī Jinnah saw no need of having an Objectives Resolution. He feared that the achievement of Pakistan had encouraged the *mullah* element and that the political leaders were likely to be overwhelmed by them. But for political reasons, said Mr. Datta, an Objec-

tives Resolution was passed. Now a number of provisions in the Report "go very far beyond it and totally negative its spirit."

"The pattern of the Constitution proposed is a Parliamentary democracy," said Mr. Datta. "Attempt has been made to sew the Islamic design into it. I hold it to be an impossible task. You can have it either Islamic or Parliamentary, not both at the same time." He quoted Blackstone on parliamentary democracy and then surveyed the foremost Muslim political thinkers from the 9th to the 12th centuries, all of whom departed from the ideal of the Islamic State and leaned toward the idea of the sovereignty of the people. Al-Ghazālī (1058-1111 A. D.) finally defined politics as "a science 'which deals with the proper order for the State affairs of the mundane category' ". Ibn Khaldūn and Al-Fārābī developed the idea of "other climes, other political institutions." The members of the Basic Principles Committee, said Mr. Datta, "undertook the task, abandoned a thousand years ago as absurd, of reconciling two irreconcilable principles." "The sovereignty over the universe may belong to God Almighty, but when we come to the State of Pakistan, that sovereignty is to be exercised by its people. That is the natural explanation, whatever may be the obscurantist's interpretation of the Resolution. Is the God of our conception incapable of working through the will of the chosen representatives of the people of Pakistan? If not, then why make God or His words, or His special agents intervene at every stage of our state affairs? Why then empower the Third House,... the Mullah House, which is, to boot, a nominated House, to interfere in matters of legislation and curtail popular sovereignty...? The Committee is apparently unable to place reliance on the good sense of the collective body of the elected Muslim representatives of the people and puts in a nominated body to exercise check and supervision over the sovereign Parliament and even goes to the absurdity of allowing a single Muslim member, if he so chooses, to obstruct and hold up every legislation for some time at least."

The proposal to bring the existing laws into conformity with Islamic principles was denounced. The different Muslim sects do not agree on the interpretation of the Qurʾān, much less on the other three sources of Islamic law.

"How will the body that will be entrusted to redraft the laws of the country—or for that matter the body that will be attached to the Head of the State—be distributed among the sects? If four or five ʿUlamāʾ reshape the existing laws so as to make them conform to the Sharīʿah according to their light, where is the guarantee that four hundred or five hundred other Maulanas, Maulvis and Mullahs will not declare the favored four or five infidels!... Democracy and religiosity cannot go hand in hand. Democracy, as we all know, grows by criticism. But bring in religion and you make people intolerant of diversity of views." The provisions in the Report, he argued, ran

counter to the age. He implored the Assembly to let the dead past bury its dead.

The "narrow exclusiveness" that prescribed that the Head of the State should be a Muslim would cause the Muslim majority to regard itself as God's elect, the non-Muslims to be considered helots, and the country to lose prestige before the world. With the Muslims outnumbering all other religious minorities more than six to one, the Head of the State would always be a Muslim without "this inglorious exhibition of an utterly selfish outlook."

References to other Muslim countries today concluded Mr. Datta's discussion of making Pakistan's Constitution Islamic. He first quoted a sizeable paragraph from an introduction to the Constitution of Turkey written by M. B. Ahmad, "who, under the advice of the late Quaid-i-Azam, edited the Constitutions of all important countries of the world." Mr. Datta added that Turkey declared by Article 3 of its Constitution, that sovereignty belonged unconditionally to the nation. Similar in purport was Article 34 of the Constitution of the United States of Indonesia. In Egypt, General Naguib was reported to have given a stern warning to certain extremist elements who were demanding that the new constitution be based on Islamic principles. His reply to them was: "Religion is for the individual but country for all; Cross and Crescent will shine together in the Egyptian sky." The speaker warned that Pakistan could remain in ideological isolation only at its peril.

He then condemned the majority recommendations on separate electorates. He first enumerated the ways in which the minorities were being terrorized, then insisted that joint electorates would be the only means of ending those injustices.

> What with an almost complete indifference to our complaints and hardships on the part of the executive, what with a perpetual sense of insecurity of our life, honour and property, what with a systematic failure in keeping up proportion in the matter of recruitment to public services, what with deliberate discrimination in the grant of trade licenses, levying taxes and extortion of so-called subscriptions, requisitions of properties and treatment of the minorities' properties as if they were nobody's properties and withholding or cancellation of arms licenses, where lawlessness victimising particular communities is on the increase, we already suffer the status of a hopeless people... There is thus a never-ending endeavour, official and non-official, to terrorize us as a community. That is the kind of citizenship we even now enjoy and worse things are in store for us under the budding Constitution...

The "vicious device" of separate electorates was introduced "in the days of our national slavery... The foreigner banked on that game for a permanent lease of life here. Then we had practically no citizenship. We now have citizenship."... "But under separate electorates, we, the minorities, get a subservient citizenship." "Why should the 86 per cent of our people be in such mortal dread of the remaining 14 per cent that they would not have them represented except as mere showboys to function in an eternal mockery of a parliamentary opposition? We do not want to remain a protected community as people were in the

Middle East twelve or thirteen hundred years ago." The Charter Muḥammad granted the Jews was "a perfect declaration so far as it went in those days of personal rule. And the composite nation of Muḥammad's declaration, if his followers of these days would be guided by his Charter, can be brought about under conditions of representative government only by a system of joint electorates."

After analyzing the formula for parity between the Eastern and Western zones of Pakistan, a subject "cognate to the communalisation of the constituencies" he had discussed, Mr. Datta concluded by urging the Assembly to avoid eclecticism and to form a Constitution related to the lives of the teeming millions, their dire needs and the stark misery of their existence. The Basic Principles Report visualized no different scheme of things for the lives of the common people than they had under the existing Constitution as now administered. It was indifferent to unemployment and the degradation following upon it. The economy had been neglected for ages, but finally the sub-continent had attained political freedom. "But never have I seen during my life, even in British days, the peasants in our countryside presenting such a picture of dismal poverty and blank despair as after the attainment of freedom during the last three or four years." If no ray of hope pierced the gloom of the peoples' misery, "what boots it to have a costly paraphernalia of a Constitution hypocritically christened democratic, Islamic or otherwise?" As a man who had spent about a quarter of a century in British prisons in the cause of freedom for India, he complained that the party in power was as cynical about the privations of the common man as it was contemptuous of the self-imposed sufferings of the fighters for the nation's freedom.

Then came the speaker's call for a Constitution on a new model. "The next link in the chain of social evolution has been found in the co-operative commonwealth. Here opens up a great vista of progress for our land of Pakistan." "The sovereignty of the people will find full expression in the village and other primary republics, which will surrender powers they are naturally incapable of wielding to higher and higher bodies. Call it a federation or a confederation, let no one funk before this unorthodox idea of Constitution-making." "The Constitution which is to supply the political counterpart to that form of economy must be on the basis of the self-ruling, co-operative village, urban and factory communities... Initiative being passed from the bureaucracy on to the people themselves, we shall find new energy... and progress will be as rapid even as it has been in primitive Russia during the three decades after the Revolution there—while we shall be avoiding the totalitarian character of the state there built on the admitted conception of a dictatorship." The nationalization of basic industries and rational over-all planning for the State as a whole would be required.

Mr. Datta called for scrapping the Report, lock, stock and barrel,

and beginning over again. If the Constituent Assembly lacked the inspiration to create a broadminded Constitution, it should liquidate itself and a new Constituent Assembly, elected by the people, should take over the task.

In a long, vivacious address delivered on October 8 and 9, 1953, Professor R. K. Chakraverty aimed to refute the points that the mover of the Report, Mr. Khwāja Nazīmuddīn, had called the three merits of the proposed Constitution, namely that it was democratic, that it was federal, and that it was Islamic. He hammered away soberly at the recommendations already repudiated by his colleagues, then satirized the Islamic character of the Constitution. He found the Constitution Islamic so far as convenient to the makers, but neither thoroughly Islamic nor thoroughly modern. If it were thoroughly Islamic, it would prohibit detention without trial. It would prescribe that every Muslim should pay 1/40 of his income as Zakāt and that no high government official should receive more than forty times the wage of the lowest employee of the State. The speaker read from the Qurʾān that the hand of the thief taken in the act should be cut off and the adulterer flogged. He asked whether these punishments would be practicable today and whether Macaulay's Penal Code should be modified.

Different interpretations of the Sharīʿah by different Muslim sects, it was asserted, would cause endless difficulties. What, for example, would be the fate of the Qadianis, considered by many to be heretics? What books would be burned because some considered them repugnant to the Qurʾān? Would it be permissible to raise a mausoleum for the Quaid-i-Azam or lay wreaths on his grave? The speaker challenged the government to consider the international standing of such a State and to say openly whether repugnancy of laws was a political device for placating the illiterate masses. The Report, he contended, betrayed Muḥammad ʿAlī Jinnah, who had said in that very hall: "In politics the Hindus will cease to be Hindus and the Muslims will cease to be Muslims." The Committee had created six classes of citizens instead of one and by separate electorates had made one of them a perpetual majority. It had betrayed the unborn generations by a surrender to medievalism and priesthood.

There were seven other Hindu speakers during the three-week period of debate but only one of them professed to be satisfied with the "undiluted Islamic Constitution." Attention has here been concentrated on the Hindu statements of dissent, perhaps at some risk of disproportion, only because they underlined the sharpness of the issues confronting the Muslim majority in the reconciliation of human rights and some concepts of Islamicity. The very apprehension of the dissidents put the spokesmen of Islamicity on their mettle. Thirty-nine Muslims spoke, among whom were several sharp critics of the Report and the Committee. One of the most notable was Sarder Shawkat

Hyat Khān. He complained on October 13 of the tongue-in-cheek orations heard in the Assembly and chided his colleagues on the six years' delay in producing a Constitution. He called the B.P.R. nothing but hypocrisy. They had approved the Report on Fundamental Rights, he said, but the B.P.R. denied these very rights. It betrayed the minorities, who were their "trust." To break a treaty with the minorities was a denial of Islam. He unsparingly condemned the breaking of the agreement with the Hindus that brought Pakistan into existence. The requirement that the Head of the State should be a Muslim, the hoodwinking of the people by proposing a Mullah Board, and the proposal for separate electorates constituted a breach of faith. For the sake of the Hindus in Pakistan and the Muslims left in India, Pakistan should treat her minorities fairly. He insisted that the fullest autonomy should be given to the provinces. The needs of the people in education, industry, and similar fields could best be met locally. "Our call is autonomy, autonomy, autonomy." Contrary to the B.P.R., the residuary powers must remain with the provinces. Highmindedness and sincerity made this speech an example of Muslim criticism at its best.

Mr. Iftikhāruddīn was the one dissenting Muslim member of the B.P.C. No critic was more severe or more persistent in his attack. He later carried the fight to East Bengal, where he helped defeat the Muslim League in the elections. In a long speech on October 22, he predicted several of the defeats in store for the party in the coming months. He first pointed out the irony of presenting a so-called Islamic Constitution at a time when the nation felt more frustrated than under British rule. The present government had jailed more Muslims in the preceding eight months, he said, than had been imprisoned in any comparable period except in 1857 and during the Khilāfat Movement. The Islamic Constitution promised by Liaquat ʿAlī Khān was understood to offer a new type of democracy that would not only give the people the right to live and vote freely but would also create conditions under which they could live and vote freely. In the sense of the greatest happiness to the greatest number, even India's Constitution was more "Islamic." He declared that he respected the great ʿUlamāʾ of 1857 but that generally speaking the political role of the ʿUlamāʾ in the last two centuries had been shameful.

He deplored the betrayal of the interests of the Muslims as well as of the minorities by the parochialism of the proposed Constitution. Pakistan's 1¼ crores of non-Muslims were declared forever foreign; they were not allowed to vote with the Muslims. It was sheer nonsense to say the minorities were "protected." "The Muslims in India are better treated than the Hindus in Pakistan. Therefore we have harmed the 3½ crores of Muslims living in India." As for a tribunal of ʿUlamāʾ to pass on legislation, he said, "The only tribunal before which we can go—however fallacious, however backward—is the tribunal of the

people." He warned that such parochialism, laughed at by the world, would harm the Muslims of the world.

Mr. Iftikhāruddīn argued against the Muḥammad ᶜAlī formula of representation and against a strong Center. The former would produce only provincial antagonism. He predicted that East Bengal would revolt against the nominally federal government. He called Pakistan a rickshaw drawn by East and West Pakistan with their legs tied together. This arrangement, he said, would mean slower movement than for the rest of the world, though the House sat comfortably in the rickshaw. Centralization would not insure unity. On the contrary, a strong central government, with 67 of the most important subjects of legislation on the Federal List and another 37 on the Concurrent List, might disrupt the country.

The Constituent Assembly itself was the target of most of his shafts. He complained that those making the Constitution were elected under the aegis of British rule on a franchise that gave only 14 per cent of the people the right to vote—through indirect elections at that. This group came together only to vote for the creation of Pakistan. Even feudal lords were accepted if they voted for independence. The four or five worst traitors to Pakistan in the Punjab had been approached, minutes before, to cast their vote. Hence the present Constituent Assembly did not represent the people. Of the 12 Ministers of Pakistan 8 were not known members of this House. The Assembly had refused to allow the people to vote on the Constitution. "Could anybody, could a House, be more corrupt than we have been? For six years I have been clamoring that the Constituent Assembly be dissolved and a new House elected on full franchise."

The formal address of the Minister of Law on October 23 answered some of criticisms made by the opposition. It reads like a sincere attempt at a meeting of minds. Mr. Brohi began his defense of the Islamic character of the Constitution by asserting that the Directive Principles were more than "pious wishes." Though not legally binding, they would serve as a manifesto of the Government and its programme. He suggested that the minorities probably did not fear Islam as much as they looked down on the behavior of professing Muslims.

Islam was not a religion among religions, he declared, but the one final, universal religion. "All that is good and great in the 20th century derives its power and inspiration from what is contained in the message of God delivered to His Prophet thirteen centuries ago." Only Islam had commanded its followers to respect all other religions. Non-Muslims need not believe that the sovereignty of the State lies with God. They need consider the law to be only the product of the Constituent Assembly. Muslims would recognize that the powers of Pakistan's parliament would be circumscribed by the limitations specified in the Holy Quᵓrān and the Sunnah. The Constitution specified, therefore, that no laws enacted should be "repugnant." But Mr. Brohi heartily agreed with

the denunciation of the formula for the adjudication of the repugnancy clause by the so-called Mullah Board and promised that an amendment vesting the ultimate adjudication in the Supreme Court would be moved when the B.P.R. was voted clause by clause. "There is no place for priesthood in Islam."

Quoting Iqbāl on the evolution of the law, Mr. Brohi called for the production of a history of the development of the Islamic Law comparable to the Government of India's history of philosophy prepared by a special commission. He said, "... not a single decent attempt—I am not talking of the numerous trumpery pamphlets which are being hurled at us daily ...—has been made by a commission of scholars well versed in... Muslim Law to present to the world a treatise showing *how we are going to deal with the specific concrete problems of law:* I mean both domestic and international law." Such a study would be relevant to the current inquiries about the punishment of crime, the position of women, the doctrine of *ribā*ᵓ and similar matters; "it is our fault that we have not been able to give a clear enunciation of the Islamic Law." He went on to explain that the constitutional law merely provided the *mode* and the *manner* in which the sovereign power within the State could be distributed. The portion of the law that prescribed this framework had nothing to do with the Qurᵓān and the Sunnah. "We do not say that everything you find here is Quranic... The ideology is Quranic, the programme is Quranic, but when we get down to the business of distributing sovereign power, ... we have adopted ... a federal form of government."

Replying to a question from Mr. D. N. Datta on the personal laws of the Hindus under an Islamic Constitution, Mr. Brohi said that "the Muslim law of a Muslim State is not antipathetic to, is not incompatible with, the due expression of the personal law of the non-Muslims in a Muslim State." The historic position of all authorities on Islamic Law had been that the law that was personal to the non-Muslisms had to be left intact so long as it did not conflict with that species of law of the Muslim States that it shared with other States—what might be called the secular portion of the law, a certain general type of law which the Muslim State might share with Germany or France: that portion of the law that is absolutely essential for every state. On the important question of joint electorates, the Law Minister conceded, citing B. R. Ambedkar's *The States and Minorities* (1947), that if the minorities actually wanted joint electorates, they must be allowed to have them. But he thought that the opposition might be mistaken in believing, or asserting, that the population really wanted joint electorates. Speaking unofficially, he recommended that the candidates for the new Assembly should make this matter a part of their election manifesto. The election would then express the people's verdict. When legislators had been returned on that basis, the Constitution could be amended.

The majority of the Muslim speakers naturally approved the Report. They asserted that the opposition forces did not appreciate the principles of Islamic democracy and Islamic socialism, nor realize that the principles of the Qur'ān resemble those of the American Declaration of Independence. Pakistan had an ideology of its own to satisfy but would fully protect its minorities. Without giving specific details they insisted that Islam offered a *via media*.

Inevitably these debates in October 1953 came under the shadow of the antagonisms that were to dominate the East Bengal elections of six months later, when the Muslim League was decisively defeated. On October 24, Mr. Fazlul Ḥaq read into the debate the text of a resolution adopted by a mass meeting in Dacca on October 9, protesting against aspects of the constitutional proposals being forwarded in Karachi. This Resolution demanded complete zonal autonomy for East Bengal on the basis of the Lahore Resolution of 1940, and the recognition of Bengali as one of the State languages. It opposed a bi-cameral federal legislature as designed to clog popular, progressive schemes in the guise of a system of checks. It called for immediate dissolution of the Constituent Assembly and the election of a second one by means of universal adult suffrage on a joint-electorate basis.

These issues, attaching to provincial interests and demands, complicated the problems of Islamic self-definition in political form, which is our main concern here. When the position sponsored by Mr. Fazlul Ḥaq carried the March elections decisively against the League, this defeat further complicated and undermined the work of the Assembly. But this is to anticipate. Still to occupy the debaters during that October-November session on constitutional problems was the voting of the separate paragraphs, following the arguments on the Report as a whole which ended on October 26. The adoption of these will be described in the second article.

This summary of the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly would not be complete without noting the contribution made by its two women members. They played an admirable role as constructive critics. On October 13, 1953, Begum Jahān Ara Shān Nawāz stated that the position of women in the new Constitution had been made clear by the removal of sex disqualification. But she was dismayed to find that the printed draft of the B.P.R. failed to reserve places for women in the Federal Legislature. As a member of the Committee on Fundamental Rights she had worked for the adoption of the equal rights clause. As a member of the B.P.C. she knew that the Subcommittee on Franchise had allotted women 3 per cent of the seats in the Federal Legislature—not the 20 per cent in all legislatures asked by the women's organizations. Several men spoke later in the session on behalf of women as legistators, Shaikh Sadiq Ḥasan said he would reserve 10 per cent of the seats for women. He felt they would "bring in Old Age Pensions, Unemployment Insurance, and

Children's Aid schemes, as in England." Mr. Chattopadhyaya, who on principle opposed the reservation of seats, said he favored reservations for women as protection from the mullahs who would declare they had no right to sit in parliament. The Draft Constitution finally sent to the printer on October 16, 1954 provided that the House of Representatives should have 300 members and the Senate 50, with 14 additional seats for women in the House and 2 in the Senate—according to the amendment of Begum Nawāz. In the provincial legislatures 4½ per cent of the seats were reserved for women.

On October 26, the last day of discussion of the B.P.R. as a whole, Begum Shaista Suhrawardy Ikrāmullāh called for deeds, not words. She was tired, she said, of hearing her colleagues quote the Qurʾān and the poets in season and out. It was futile to make high claims for Islam unless the Muslims demonstrated to the minorities that conditions were going to be better. She charged that the Government had done absolutely nothing to provide food and clothing, house or roof, medical attention and education to a nation in misery. "We think that as our people are deeply and sincerely religious, they will keep quiet because of our talk of religion!" The members of the Constituent Assembly would have objected, she said, but she would have liked to propose a law restricting polygamy, a stricter divorce law because of the great increase of divorces since partition, and laws under which women would be able to inherit *all* their fathers' property if there were no sons. Interpreting the law to allow for such reforms would not be irreligious or unIslamic. Both she and Begum Nawāz appealed to the principle of Ijtihād.

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THE QUR'ĀN AND THE CHRISTIAN READER. I.

To bring together the Holy Book of Islam and the Christian was over many centuries to invite either bewilderment or bitterness, if not a painful and unhappy amalgam of both. What follows here is an attempt to consider some of the deeper attitudes of the Quranic religion and the characteristic convictions of the Christian mind as these are derived from the New Testament. It is not meant to add to the hasty and often ill-informed strictures which the preachers and authors of Christendom urged against the Qur'ān whenever they had reason to take note of it. For when they articulated their feelings, they were unable to escape from the lingering memories of Ottoman devastation in the heart of eastern Europe. 'Turk,' indeed, became synonymous for them with 'Muslim' and their estimate of each was irretrievably clouded by apprehension and remembered terror. These are always fertile sources of prejudice and malice. John Foxe in 1578 in the *Book of Common Prayers* lamented how ". . of Europa a great part is shrunk from Thy Church. All Thracia, with the empire of Constantinople, all Grecia, Illyricum, and now of late all the kingdom almost of Hungaria, with much of Austria, with lamentable slaughter of Christian blood, is wasted, and all become Turks... Where Thy Name was wont to be invoked, Thy Word preached, Thy sacraments administered, there now remaineth barbarous Mahumet, with his filthy Alcoran." [1])

That pain of conquest, generating anew in the 16th century the fears of the 8th, hardly disposed the thought of Europe's theologians to a dispassionate study of the Qur'ān. They had a firm association in their minds of the seemingly invincible quality of Ottoman arms and the patently insufferable character of Islamic doctrine. European orientalism gradually emerged from this dark thraldom of fearful antipathy. What in the 17th century, in writers like the English lawyer John Selden, needed rare elevation of mind became more general and a dispassionate scholarship began to take up a more objective study of the Qur'ān's contents and to develop the literary and historical disciplines necessary to this end.

But it is not the general course of this Quranic vindication from calumny and ignorant ill-will which is here in mind. For while these researches have substantially served understanding they have not always been alert to all the implications of religious relationship. Sharp sight and dull vision, it has been said, sometimes go together. Scholars who delved meticulously into linguistic problems connected with the Qur'ān's origins and contents have not always recognised, if they have often served, the fuller implications of what they handled. Discussions of Quranic vocabulary and its sources, with the light they

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[1] The Elizabethan Reader, Edited by Hiram Haydn, New York, 1955, p. 342-343.

throw on the antecedents, in the human sense, of Muḥammad's prophethood, are all to good. But it is well also to remember that nice distinctions sometimes miss the tremendous and that the power and meaning of the whole may be lost in the dissections of the part. Of no literature more than the Qur'ān should it be remembered, as Walt Whitman hoped it might of his poems:

"...this is no book,
Who touches this, touches a man."

In strict Islamic dogma, that sentiment no doubt is heretical, but it is a sound enough reminder for the non-Muslim who strives to be alive to the Qur'ān he confronts. It is this ultimate role of the Qur'ān in Islam, beyond the intricacies of critical scholarship, which is intended in these paragraphs.

There is, however, another disability to be kept in view. It is not enough that we strive to be honest and adequate in reading the Qurān, free from distorting passion and from dissecting over-subtlety. The temptation to provocation must be strongly subdued. The Christian reader finds important and crucial Christian doctrines categorically denied in the sacred volume of Islam. He finds a steady disallowance and a frequent denunciation of Christianity, based upon a misconception of what its doctrines mean. He also finds little readiness on the part of the heirs of the Qur'ān either to recognise these misconceptions or to investigate their sources. This situation almost inevitably at some point provokes him to controversial refutation of the errors, as he sees them, of this Quranic antagonist. He begins then to think in militant terms and the range and area of potential conflict widen, and his relationship is in danger of becoming wholly forensic and polemical. This in turn obscures to him the relevance of Quranic ideas and postpones the occasion when he and they come fruitfully together.

It needs, then, to be recognised that the realm of Quranic truth as Islam receives it and the meanings and dimensions of Christian faith can only be brought into mutual contact, if the urge first to set controversial issues straight is restrained. For truth is not simply a matter of propositions to be proved, but also, and oftener, of perceptions to be purified. Our first duty as Christian readers is to look for the latter, with all the sympathy we can command and served by the fullest Arabic and other scholarship that the Christian outsider can come by. We need to be readers who are able and willing to enter into the perceptions of the Qur'ān and explore their fullest implications and thus to repossess our Christian convictions with a new capacity of interpretation. When Moses, as recorded in Surah xx.10 and Surah xxvii. 7, became aware of the fire in the bush he promptly proposed to his people that he might bring to them from it a brand, or a torch, by which he and they might find illumination. May it not be possible

in the same manner to seek in the ruling ideas of the Qur'ān that which may illumine both the meaning of Islam and the relevance of what Christians seek to say to Muslims? This is far from being a proposal to find proof-texts in the Qur'ān for Christian quotation — a most precarious and unwise proceeding (though oddly the word used in modern Arabic for 'quotation' is a derivative of Moses' firebrand, unfortunately much demoted in the process). Rather it means an open-hearted effort to understand the meaning of Christianity in the light of the fullest reckoning with the ruling themes of the Qur'ān. This may well be an exacting task. But this at least is meant here by 'the Christian reader' as one for whom a passage may be a torch that glows as well as a text that intrigues and who reaches for the mysteries of life as well as for the dictionary.

God and Association (الشِّرْك)

There can be no dispute that a vehement disavowal of what it understands by *shirk*, or association with God, is one of the most notable features of the Qur'ān. Here within this concept is one of the most fruitful of torches which, Moses-like, the student may aspire to take from its burning eloquence. For here was the very passion of the Prophet himself. Cursed were those who 'associated' with God, who offered to places, objects or persons the worship due to God alone, or who esteemed in any sense as capable of the functions and prerogatives of God the creatures He had made. This was the unpardonable sin. "Verily God will not forgive being thought of in association, though He will forgive anything else to him who seeks." (Surah. iv.116.). Abraham, Moses, Joseph and others are very insistent that they are not among the *mushrikīn*, "those who associate." This word occurs in all some forty-seven times and always with reprobation and damnation. The kindred verb form is found some fifty times in various persons and tenses. The repudiation of both thing and people is decisive and the Prophet is directed to give them a "very wide berth" (Surah vi.106.). The command to kill the associators where-ever they are found is enjoined in Surah ix, where it is said that they bear witness against their own souls that they are unbelievers. (v.17.).

It is important, however, to understand what *shirk* means and what it does not, and necessarily can not, mean. It is understood often in the barest and crudest sense as outright idolatry — the estimation of stones or statues as *de facto* deities. But in this plainest sense idolatry was not the offence of most of Muḥammad's own Meccan contemporaries. They knew and recognised the existence of the supreme God. They called Him by the Arabic name *Allāh* before Islam. But the more meaningful, because the more intimate, deities in their lives were a multiplicity of powers and forces, believed to be resident in, but not identified with, natural phenomena. For the most part pre-Islamic

paganism was not worshipping stones as gods but as the place of their activity or manifestation. No doubt, as in any superstitious context, the veneration inspired by the force tended to be transferred to the place. Pilgrims were not always discerning as to the 'What' within the 'Where' of their cult. But it is important to appreciate that the Prophet was not dealing with belief that things are actually gods. The Meccans were not so crude.

He strove rather to disavow the existence of these gods and so to disqualify the *loci* of their worship. He proclaimed the non-entity of the powers and so the folly and crime of polytheistic worship as a whole. He affirmed not the existence of God or His right to worship — both of which were widely admitted — but His *sole* existence and His sole right to worship. *Lā ilāha illā-Allāh*: god save God there is none. He is God alone. To refuse this faith and to alienate to others this uniqueness is the unpardonable *shirk*. Here was a fire indeed, in the glow of which Arabian 'association' was finally consumed.

But it is important to see this phenomenon by its proper light. Men associated divine powers, in the plural, with particular places and accorded them, therefore, the honor they alienated from the One God. Muḥammad disqualified those plural powers by his sublime insistence that God was One and not many and thus he disqualified both by word and warfare, the multiplied *loci* of a plural worship, insisting that the One God demanded and enabled a universal worship, where-ever the believer chose to stretch his prayer-mat. He was asserting as did the Christian hymn-writer:

"Where' er we seek Thee Thou art found
And every place is hallowed ground."

He did not, of course, mean nor could, religiously, have meant that this One sole God, author of all creation, sovereign over all event, and alone worthy of the creature's worship, should be dissociated from persons whom He instrumentally used, the places where their instrumentality was active and the tangible sequels of His employment of them. None of these, it is true, became worthy of worship — or even of veneration, which can so easily pass into idolatry. But their emphatic disqualification in this sense cannot conceivably imply that the Divine Lord 'associates' Himself with no agencies or calls no times, people or places into participation in His purposes. It is unmistakeably clear that He does and that, did He not, religion would be meaningless.

Islam, no less than other faiths and in some directions much more, is involved in this conviction. It believes in Prophets, as means to God's will and word. It enjoins pilgrimage to the location of that Prophethood which it believes to be unique and final. The Qurʾān is everywhere full of this idea of the Divine at work in agencies that are human and natural, or supranatural. Often in the closest connection with its denial of *shirk* are its affirmations of Divine activity in earthly

channels — Moses' burning bush, the vindication of Abraham, the choosing of the Ka'bah and many more. No less in its daily practice Islam proceeds upon the same assumption. Though prayer may be made anywhere, mosques are hallowed by the concentrated piety of long generations. The Qur'ān as a physical volume derives particular sanctity and the devout Muslim will never lower it below his bosom. The Qiblah directs the universal prayer Mecca-wards, not because God is only there but because He was once uniquely there. The citadel of the Islamic genesis was the capital of the Ḥijāz. All this is inseparable from the existence of any historic faith claiming the benediction and the custody of revelation and law. The details could be multiplied. To acknowledge them, however, is not to argue that these areas of Divine 'particularity,' where God has been peculiarly at work for His universal ends, are to be accounted worship-worthy. The more fully we understand God's action, the more wholeheartedly we worship Him alone.

But it does clearly mean that the denial of 'association' in the sense of polytheism does not, and cannot, involve the denial of Divine action through instruments which then take their place in the sanctity of faith and tradition. Such sanctities abound in Islam itself. To refuse 'association' is not to 'dissociate' the Divine from all participation in the human. If God is denied any manwardness neither Islam, nor religion, could be what they are. Indeed, if we think deeply enough, it becomes clear that the very God-ness of God involves manward relationship, if goodness (which means outgoing), truth (which awaits recognition) and moral law (which presumes a context of action) are to have more than conjectural meaning. God out of relationship is not a meaningful concept. Whatever else may happen worship itself is then destroyed and with worship the whole ground for protest against 'association.' On the inward side also how impossible is religion if man is disqualified from thinking figuratively and emotionally about God and His ways. How near together even etymologically are 'image' and 'imagination'! The making of the former, as idols, must be sternly repudiated. But the realm of the imagnation is not thereby disqualified from the enrichment and expression of the life of monotheistic worship and obedience. We are summoned to love the Lord our God with all our hearts and this means thinking of His nature and His doings in connection, let us not say association, with particular points, people, places and purposes. What perhaps it comes to, in a word, is that the anti-idolatrous devalidation of 'association' must not be extended to disavow the Divine participation in the human for purposes that are worthily Divine. To do so would be to destroy Islam itself, with its revelation, its law and its Prophet.

The importance of this clarity justifies the insistence that is here meant to serve it. For it is just here that the Christian mind confronts perhaps its greatest puzzle over the Qur'ān. It is only a further ex-

tension of the truth of Divine participation just considered to contemplate a Divine purpose of Instrumentality so holy and God-like as to require that, for adequacy, God should become His own instrument, performing not delegating His own intention. And yet it is just such a belief in its Christian form that Islam repudiated and castigated, Quranically and subsequently, as a part of that polytheism which it so roundly and so deservedly despised. Yet surely it cannot be even on Islamic principles that the possibility of Incarnation must be denied to God because litholatry and daemonism must be repudiated. The Qurʾān's most laudable crusade against the 'idols' was sadly extended against the faith of a Divine involvement in human life for supremely Divine purposes of revelation and grace. So the possibility is never contemplated that such an involvement may be entirely worthy of God and that to forbid it to Him is perhaps to deny His right to be Himself — which, whatever else it be — is hardly 'submission.'

It has, of course, to be allowed that much in the apparent context in Muḥammad's Arabia tended all too readily towards this unquestioned identification of the faith about Christ with the folly about idols. But this does not validate its being perpetuated when the true facts are clear as day. For how great is the gulf between a groping idolatrous 'association,' plural, pathetic, effete and powerless, and a grateful acknowledgement of God made man, One, Majestic, glorious and redeeming! Is it not a travesty to confound the two in the same condemnation? When Surah cxii assures us that God does not beget and is not begotten it is for ever separating Him from the non-entities who in the belief of the Jāhiliyyah era multiplied in the most prolix of associations. All of which is worlds away from the Christian conviction that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself, that it takes God to reveal God and that when God is revealing it is God also Who is revealed. For these are the meanings of the Father and the Son of Christian faith and the insistence on the *only*-begotten declares that the One God's self-disclosure demonstrates the unity it does nothing to destroy. Shall the Christian reader not yearn then that the Qurʾān did not disqualify with the plural idols that wherein the One God is supremely at work? Idolatry is a tragic error in the human relation to the Divine. Need its destruction incorporate so grievous a misunderstanding of the Divine relation to the human?

The Qurʾān and the Mind of the Prophet

There is another basic theme inseparable from the Qurʾān and besetting any Christian mind aspiring to apprehend the sacred volume more deeply. It is akin to the foregoing in that it concerns the form of the Divine employment of the human. It has also occasioned much perplexity among Muslims in respect of the appropriate principles of exegesis, and the issue is, or could become, very much alive. The more the reader is arrested, like Moses at the bush, by the Qurʾān's own claims the more the question presses upon him.

It has to do with the relation between the revealing will, or mind, of God and the recipient mind, or ear and lips, of the human Prophet. For the Qur'ān proceeds entirely upon belief in revelation. The contrast in this respect between it and *Ḥadīth* is clear and familiar. It epitomises the fact and the sequel of Prophethood. It exists as and by Divine communication, through the agency of the archangel Gabriel or other celestial mediary, to the voice and utterance of the earthly spokesman, who has no status in its coming other than recipience. He, of himself, is no more than "the voice of one crying." And he cries because he must.

Side by side with this understanding of the Qur'ān's genesis as speech on earth, through, but not by, the Prophet, goes the other phenomenon of its factual, empirical contents. These are unmistakeable. The Qur'ān, like the Bible, is a revelation associated with 'occasions,' only the occasions of the former are concentrated in two and a half decades and one personal context, whereas those of the latter are extended over many centuries, lands and situations. But however contrasted, the occasionalism is there. How much, for example, do the contents of the Qur'ān owe—at least empirically—to the fact of the recalcitrance of the Quraish? Many of its most characteristic teachings are couched in the familiar form: "They say ... Say thou ..." The preaching of Muḥammad is clearly, and inevitably, conditioned to a large extent by what, in its hardness of heart, the audience in Mecca needed to be told. Similarly in the subsequent story, the battles of Badr and Uḥud, the treaty of Al-Hudaibiyyah the Jewish relationships, the post-Ḥunain distribution, as well as more intimate details of the Prophet's personal entourage, are all involved as occasions around which the total education of the Muslims by means of the Divine revelation revolves.

It is not meant to suggest that there is anything dubious or unnatural about this situation. It is plainly inevitable. It is indeed part of that involving of the Divine—in this case the Divine revealing of truth and directing of conduct—in the human, of which we have been earlier thinking. It is, as all faith is, a matter of mutuality between the Divine and the human, the eternal and the temporal, the Lord and the messenger. From this as we have seen there is no escape. It is the very stuff of all theology. But this Quranic situation is linked in the orthodox Muslim view with a disavowal of mental or emotional involvement on the Prophet's part with the content of what he uttered. For the substance of the revelation to have gone through the workings of the Prophet's mind would somehow disqualify the result as revelatory. Accordingly, he is held to have had no more part in it consciously than any physical vehicle has in what it conveys. The voice is the Prophet's but the meaning is all God's without the intervention of human kind.

The problem as it disturbs the sympathetic Christian mind is how

to hold together these two aspects of the Qur'ān as revelation—its clear occasionalism and its concept of the prophetic role. Were it believed that the Divine Spirit was at work enabling, informing, inspiring and uplifting the Prophet's own wrestling with his situation and thus disclosing the Divine Mind through the travail of the human, the particular problem under study would not exist. The prophetic situation in the Qur'ān would then approximate to the Biblical concept. Muḥammad, at least in respect of how prophecy came, would be in the company of Amos and his great successors, the Hebrew writing Prophets. Many western thinkers have, of course, proceeded instinctively upon the supposition that the Qur'ān was finally the product of the genius of Muḥammad. But though a few Muslim thinkers nowadays are moving towards a similar concept it remains unacceptable to the mass of Muslim theologians. Yet if we are required to think that the Qur'ān came by a process of Divine 'dictation' the mystery of its occasionalism grows deeper. It cannot be that God is composing the book as the events proceed. For they do not constitute, they merely illustrate, His law. It may, of course, be urged that the Divine omniscience foresaw and provided the occasions. Yet this is to imperil the spontaneous reality and moral quality of the human involvement and is to make God the author of Quraishī recalcitrance. That may be. But would it be more worthy to think of the Divine Spirit bearing interpretatively and lovingly, unto revelation, upon the realities present to the Prophet's soul, so that the consequent disclosure, which condemns the false, unveils the true and enforces the just, arises from the real travail of those whom the action involves? In these circumstances there is a situation more vibrantly moral and thus more worthily revelatory. Perhaps the mind of Islam in the custody of the Qur'ān has more light yet to throw upon this issue.

That hope is not an idle one, because the question has deep exegetical consequences today. It may be found in the end that it takes us right back into what is most suitable to God and how far His involvement by grace in the human really goes. A loving pressure of the Divine Spirit that brings Prophets to discover through travail, rather than learn by intimation, the truth that makes their mission is a concept of instrumentality that enlarges the human without jeopardising the initiative of the Divine. Thus it comes closer to being ready to contemplate an actual Divine occupancy of human terms and human life in Christ. At all events Islam holds back from both. The Christian task is a friendly custodianship of its own insights. For whatever else may be said of the Incarnation of Christ, at least it stands at the central point of all religious mystery — a mystery in which Islam's Qur'ān is also involved. It is the mystery of the Divine relation to man and the human relatedness to God.

KENNETH CRAGG.

BOOK REVIEWS

Muhammad's People. A mosaic translation by Eric Schroeder, Portland (Maine), The Bond Wheelwright Company, 1955. pp. xx, 838.

This is a difficult book to review. Whether one reads through it steadily as a whole, or simply browses where it happens to open, the critical faculties are numbed by sheer delight in the work of art, the elegance and point of the translations, the cunning juxtaposition of the successive passages and fragments, the brilliance of the resulting picture. The sense of gratitude that one expects to feel for the years of labour that have given us at last a storehouse of translated materials becomes entirely irrelevant; the compiler's reward is his own pleasure and the complex beauty of his achievement. In an ordinary anthology, such as the recent French work *Les plus beaux Textes arabes*, it is possible to discuss the selection of the materials or the adequacy of the renderings; but to go through a work like this with a philological toothcomb and quibble over a translation here or there would be churlish pedantry. One accepts the renderings of the *Muʿallaqa* of Imru'ul Qais, and still more those from the Qurʾān, for their artistic truth, without demanding literal precision. (This is not to question their substantial accuracy, as, for example, the rendering of *al-ḥūr al-ʿīn* by "beings with wide and lovely eyes.") Nor again is it possible to quarrel with a feature which at first sight seems disconcerting: the absence of precise documentation for every passage (the chief sources for each chapter being grouped in an appendix), since it would fatally destroy the wholeness of the picture composed by each chapter, dissolving it into a collection of snippets.

It is only when the artist aims at, or claims, something else, besides artistic merit, that he lays his work open to criticism. And this Mr. Schroeder has done in defining his object: "I have tried to set forth Muslim civilization entirely in Muslim confession, and so to make a historian of the reader, who may think as he will of what is shown him." To recreate for the modern reader, then, the living past of Muslim civilization in Muslim terms: this is in itself a reasonable and seemingly straightforward aim, but the way to it proves to be beset by pitfalls. Without going into minor detail, it will be enough to indicate two major problems. One is the problem of "historical memory" versus historical documentation; the other is that of proportion. In the latter respect the book seems to be rather neatly divided; the first half covers the first two centuries of the Muslim era, the second half covers the third and fourth, with some excursions into later literature. But this does not entirely solve the question of balance. For example, the chapter tellingly entitled "Money, Money, Money" (pp. 446-520), which relates the career of the vizier Ibn al-Furat, is longer than the chapter given to the Umayyad caliphate (pp. 204-262), and more than half as long as the space given to Muḥammad and the Qurʾān (pp. 20-144). Yet this striking disproportion on the historical plane does not, in fact, seem disproportionate as one reads the book. The explanation lies in the difference between the character of the materials in the two halves.

To put it bluntly, the materials in the first half do not present, except in a limited degree, the contemporary realities of Muslim life, but only their refraction through the prisms of later reflection and judgement. The critical chapter is, of course, that already mentioned on the Umayyad caliphate. Apart from two or three poems (on which more later), there is not a single contemporary document in it. Although every student of the Umayyad age knows that the really vital issue which stirred up the deepest passions at the time was the inter-tribal conflict, there is not one reference to it in the chapter. Furthermore, it is notorious that the later Muslim chroniclers were on the whole hostile and unjust to the Umayyads. From the modern critical historian's angle, then, the whole presentation must be regarded as tendentious and incomplete. But this is not the only angle of view nor, it would seem, the most important angle from the compiler's point of view. For his purpose, the "reality" of Muslim history is how Muslims themselves envisaged their own "living past." Here it is the historical memory that matters, not the documentation; and if in Muslim perspective the Umayyad age was viewed in tendentious and unrealistic terms, the responsibility for the element of distortion involved is theirs. Limiting the presentation to "Muslim confession" carries as a necessary corollary presenting the reader with the Muslim view as reflected in the later sources, and letting him "think as he will" of the result.

Precisely in this chapter, however, Mr. Schroeder illustrates another delicate problem, by inserting six pages of traditions about the Prophet's usage in personal relationships, followed by two more of obviously apocryphal traditions. The latter are clearly in the right place from all points of view, but what of the former? In the Muslim view they do not differ in point of origin from those included in the chapter on Muḥammad himself; surely it is only from the critical angle that they are to be placed towards the end of the Umayyad century. There is then a cross-division of principles; but so aptly do the two elements fit together that one scarcely notices the quiet skill with which the problem has been handled.

The chapter on Hārūn al-Rashīd (pp. 296-342) poses a different facet of the same problem. Here the picture is made up of items illustrating Hārūn's religiosity, the government of the vizier Yaḥyā, the cunning casuistry of the qāḍī Abū Yūsuf, tales of the Barmakids (including the ᶜAbbāsa story) and their overthrow, Hārūn's impulsive handling of state affairs, his war with Nicephorus and his death. All these are certainly items which enter into the Muslim "historical memory" of Hārūn; yet the picture as a whole must be said to reflect the popular version, in which even the developing cultural and intellectual life of the time is presented with the distorting emphases characteristic of popular history. This applies especially to the presentation of Abū Yūsuf—who was a great deal more than a wily instrument for untying the caliph's knots; and amusing as the stories are, they satirize, rather than represent, one of the most important elements in the living Muslim tradition, the Ḥanafī school.

In the second half of the book we come to straight historical documentation. Here we have genuine "Muslim confession," by writers

who knew the things that they were writing about, and when they were telling the truth and when inventing. The supply of vivacious, vigorous and colorful material is almost unlimited, and not only on political events, but also on the social and personal levels. Alongside the historical chapters (which carry the story down to the Buwaihid period) there are, accordingly, chapters on religious figures like Al-Ḥallāj and Al-Ashᶜarī, on polite society ("The Sophisticated"), and selections from Ṣūfī and profane literature, including the *Arabian Nights* and Al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt*. The whole section, indeed, is finely designed to bring out the striking contrast between the political decadence and the vigor and refinement of the Islamic culture at its height, though already bearing the seeds of decay.

For the teacher and student, therefore, the distinction between the two halves of the book is important; and if the fact of this difference limits the sense in which it may be said "to make a historian of the reader," it is none the less true that the reader who works intelligently through the book will acquire as he reads a vivid picture of what Muslim history means to Muslims and how it influences their thinking even at the present day. He will learn also to appreciate something of the literary accompaniment of Muslim history, of the real soul of Muslim culture, and especially of the Qurᵓān, the Traditions, and the lives and sayings of the saints. But to this service of introduction there is one major exception. Except for the *Muᶜallaqa* of Imru'ul-Qais, practically all the poetry quoted in the book is occasional verse, nearly always witty or pointed, but verse that in no way represents the essential character of Arabic poetry or conveys its emotional significance in Arab life. But perhaps this is to ask too much. Anyone who has read this book will at least be better able to appreciate Arabic poetry when he comes across it, even in inferior presentations, and (who knows?) may even find his appetite whetted for it. We can only, in conclusion, thank Mr. Schroeder and his publishers for a courageous venture which deserves, and will surely receive, a grateful welcome.

Harvard University H. A. R. Gibb

The Holy Koran. An Introduction with Selections by A. J. Arberry. (Ethical and Religious Classics of East and West, No. 9), London, 1953, pp. 141.

Professor Arberry sets himself the task of reconciling Carlyle's dictum that the Qurᵓān "is as toilsome reading as I ever undertook, a wearisome, confused jumble, crude, incondite" with Pickthall's eulogy of "that inimitable symphony, the very sounds of which move men to tears and ecstasy." In an Introduction of unusual interest he gives a short account of earlier translators and their comments on the Qurᵓān. (Here it may be noted that it was not the great Arabist D. S. Margoliouth who wrote the Introduction to Rodwell's version, but G. Margoliouth). When he deals with the oft repeated assertion that the Medinan Surahs betray deterioration in style and are wearisome and prosaic when contrasted with the vivid emotional style of the Meccan oracles, the author makes the important point that the basic rhythm throughout the Qurᵓān is that of drumming: "the basic elements

are always the iambic and the dactyl, with an occasional anapaest." It is to be hoped that he will pursue this subject further when his eagerly awaited translation of the whole of the Qurʾān is published.

The greatest difficulty that faces a writer when he has to deal with a vast subject in a very few pages is that of selection. It is true to say that "to the Muslim the Koran is...one whole and indivisible divine book, equal in all its parts...an eternal Arabic expression of God's final message to mankind," but one cannot help thinking of the parts that Muslim scholars affirm are abrogated. With more space at his command the author doubtless would have dealt with this point.

Though not sharing the writer's view that the sayings of Muḥammad recorded in the books of Tradition are substantially authentic, (for I would look for them elsewhere) I am impressed by the argument that Muḥammad's literary expression differed fundamentally from his ordinary speech. All who have read the *Sīrah* will recognize the justice of the claim.

Professor Arberry modestly disclaims any intention to write for scholars; but scholars will appreciate his success in imitating the rhythm and rhetoric of the original in his translation. Obviously it is impossible in a short review to do justice to the writer's translation as a whole, but in my opinion it is by far the best translation which has been made in the English language. This is evident from the outset. Thus, Sale, Lane, Rodwell, and even Pickthall, begin: "Praise be to God," but here the rendering:

> "To God belongs Praise, for He is the Lord of all Being,
> the All-Compassionate, the Merciful,
> the Ruler of the Day of Reckoning."

is both accurate and felicitous. Again, the short passage entitled *Mary*, (Surah xix, 16-34), is a model of simplicity and fidelity.

On all the books in the Arabic language, the Qurʾān is the most difficult to translate, especially when footnotes are barred. Therefore, if Professor Arberry can do for the Surahs of Medina what he has done in his anthology of the devotional and parenetic teaching of the Qurʾān, he will have filled a gap which generations of Arabists have failed to close.

Princeton University, N.J. ALFRED GUILLAUME

The Quickening Word. By Laurence E. Browne, D. D., Emeritus Professor of the University of Leeds, W. Heffer & Sons Ltd., Cambridge, 1955, pp. 110.

The subtitle of this thin volume is *A Theological Answer to the Challenge of Islam*. There is nothing thin about the content of the book. It is a carefully developed theological treatment of the centuries-old "misunderstanding" by Muslims of Christian experience and thought about God, Christ, the Holy Spirit and man. It stimulates Christian disciples to think connectedly and deeply on these themes. It abounds with fresh insights into the meaning of many passages of Scripture and challenges traditional theological thinking at many points.

The very titles of the eight chapters reveal the scope and the sequence of the thought: The Problem Stated, the Unity of God, Sin, The Conquest of Sin, Jesus Christ, Man, The Indwelling of God, The Trinity. These topics are dealt with in very concentrated fashion. Each chapter must be studied intensively. Sentence after sentence demands careful study. It is not easy reading. A great deal that might be said to make the book easier reading has been omitted. Positions are taken at times very dogmatically, but not carelessly. The fact that these chapters constitute the Hulsean Lectures for 1954 probably accounts for the clipped character of many of the paragraphs. One gets the impression that the author could have written a sizeable treatise on his topic.

How does the author conceive his "problem"? He maintains that "throughout the ages ... Christians and Muslims have been arguing at cross purposes." Words and metaphors used by Christians have "conveyed erroneous ideas to Muslims." "The real reason for our failure" to explain Christianity has been the same in successive ages, namely, "the inability to put clearly before Muslims the underlying doctrines on which Christian life is based." Even Christians today do not understand the theology of the 4th and 5th centuries which has formed the basis of the Christian efforts to communicate the truth as it is in Jesus to Muslims. 'We have two problems to solve: The first is to recover the meaning of the faith as it was understood by those who framed the creeds." "The second problem is to express the rediscovered faith in language that the Muslim can understand." To solve the second problem "we must avoid many or most of the traditional theological terms seeing that they are used by Muslim theologians in a different sense. It is also necessary to avoid most of the Muslim theological terms."

From this statement of the problem one can surmise that the author makes a radical effort to "explain" Christian thought and experience to Muslims in terms that a serious Muslim will understand. Does the author succeed in doing this? It is doubtful. But the attempt is very stimulating to Christian theologians and missionaries and others who are wrestling with the challenge.

Toward the conclusion of his argument the author admits that his answer is "speculative" and necessarily so. He says frankly: "The doctrine of the Trinity is the highest philosophy that the human mind has achieved... But the doctrine of the Trinity, although a fruit of speculative philosophy, is necessary; for whether we like it or not, people will speculate; and speculations, supposedly based on Christian experience, which are wayward and false, have done immense harm to the faith." The author makes a valiant, noble, ingenious, and, so far as the reviewer knows, an original, attempt to make clear to a Muslim who will listen and think and is willing to use new terms, what the Christian Gospel really is, what the Christian experience of God, Christ and the Holy Spirit is, what we should understand by the unity of God. He says (page 106) "The attempt to frame a doctrine of the Trinity was not intended to assert the three-foldness of God, which was already known in experience, but to safeguard His unity.

Earlier on we drew some lessons on what constituted unity from a consideration of the degrees of unity in various animate beings; and we were led to look for harmonious coordination, rather than undifferentiation, as the mark of the perfect unity. If that analogy holds good for the Deity, we might expect to find not a mere threeness, but a highly complicated coordination in the being of God."

To reach this conclusion the author calmly proposes to scrap such terms as "the Son of God" and to rethink the Christology of the Nicene creed. He insists that "Christianity stands alone in its insistence on the holiness of God as the basis of His unity, and on the holiness of His people as the basis for the very existence of His kingdom." "The Islamic conception of God is in reality an agnostic position, an assertion of man's inability to conceive of the nature of ultimate reality." The Christian conception of God involves moral rather than mathematical or material harmony, thus indicating the ethical nature of ultimate reality.

It should be noted that the author is not bound by any unwillingness to take full account of the results of historical and scientific studies. In fact, his argument includes the concept of evolution and assumes historical criticism of the Scriptures. At the same time he maintains that "the full truth of God is only to be seen in Christ." (p. 70).

To reach his main conclusion regarding the nature of God the author leads the reader through discussions of the nature of sin, the fact and nature of human freedom, the nature and function of Jesus Christ, the nature and function of the Holy Spirit, the transcendence and the immanence of God and many related subjects. He brings the reader to the climax when he says: "Our experience of God's relations with us is not confined to the two aspects of God as transcendent and of God as immanent, but between these two is the aspect of God revealing himself... God has acted in these three ways upon the world. He was first transcendent, then revealing, and then immanent ... this middle term is peculiar to Christianity... Under the influence of Neoplatonism, Islam had a philosophical ground for denying the possibility of an incarnation. There is no chance of Islam changing its mind on this subject until it goes back behind the influence of Greek philosophy, and corrects the false doctrine of God's absolute transcendence which this philosophy engendered."

One wonders whether the author has had the opportunity to be in frequent friendly contact with Muslims over a considerable period of time. In reality, in today's world there are few Muslims who are willing to listen to arguments or reflections such as Prof. Browne sets forth, and those few who are willing seem to have little influence upon the trend of events. One does not have to deny the importance of the theological issues to assert that the onward rush of history and particularly of multiplying international relations have bypassed the forum where philosophy and religion are discussed, and plunged the world—undoubtedly for the worse—into action without much thought and decisions without sufficient premeditation. Probably the world will have to wait for a change of climate before Christians and Muslims can come to grips in friendly fashion on the issues as Prof. Browne

delineates them. That no abiding, large-scale, positive results will come before there can be an Auseinandersetzung such as Prof. Browne visualizes, can be confidently asserted. In the meantime, it appears to the reviewer, the primary task of the Christian is to demonstrate as best he can by life and service what the Christian faith is and implies.

Boston, Mass. FRED FIELD GOODSELL

The Taming of the Nations. By F. S. C. Northrop, The MacMillan Company, New York, 1952, pp. 362 $ 5.00.

This interesting and readable book by the Sterling Professor of Philosophy and Law at Yale University is an analysis of living world cultures in an endeavor to state principles to be followed in the establishment of an international policy which would make it possible for the nations of the world to live together in peace, while differing, sometimes drastically, in their basic culture.

Beginning with the thesis that no law can be made to work when it is contrary to the "normative living law" of the people involved, the author proceeds to study the various living law-cultures of the world, covering the religions and cultures of Asia, the Islamic world, the West (old and new), the Communist world, and, in less detail, Africa. The study is an adequate endeavor to accomplish a great deal in limited space, and is remarkable for the depth of its insight into eastern ways of thought.

The chapter on Asian Resurgence and Western Ways expresses well and fully principles this reviewer has often seen at work, but of which he had only been generally aware. While the chapter was not written especially for missionaries, every missionary administrator (which means most missionaries) should read, study, and profit from it. Perhaps the greatest compliment to this particular section of the book would be to say that since reading the chapter, I have applied its principles in several specific instances, and find that they work!

Professor Northrop's treatment of Islam, however, is marred by generalizations relating both to matters of detail and to general points of view. An example of the first is to be found in his statement (p. 71) that "in any mosque of Islam ... there is no written mark or sign except for the script: 'There is no God but God.'" Actually numbers of Quranic verses are used as mosque decorations. [Incidentally, the first use of the word "god" in the Muslim statement of faith should have a small "g", and the word is better translated "deity."]

An example of generalisation in a more important matter is to be found in Professor Northrop's unfortunate identification of Islam with Iqbāl. Pakistanī Islam admires Iqbāl as a poet, honors his presentation of the past glories of Islam, glorifies him as the initiator of the idea of Pakistan, and in general holds him up as an ideal, but, except for a few progressives whose ideas have as yet had little or no effect on the rank and file of Muslims, rejects his "reconstruction." The world of Islam in general joins in the rejection. We must look elsewhere than to Iqbāl for the elements of living law-culture which characterize Islam in the present day. Specifically, most Muslims would

categorically deny the existence of creators other than God, in spite of Iqbāl's interpretation. (p. 169)

The author desires, as do all of us, that the nations of the world should live together in peace. This, he says, can come about if men and nations will recognize their differences, agree that others may hold different views, and recognize the validity of the various cultures in their own spheres. This is altogether too simple a solution for the world's ills. It is simply naive to conclude that with acceptance of living law pluralism as the norm, all problems would be settled. There is, moreover, nothing to indicate that the Communist world would ever accept this principle.

Professor Northrop's treatment of Scripture leaves much to be desired. Rather than approaching the passages referred to inductively, to see what they say, he has stated his thesis, and then looked to Scripture for possible confirmation of it. St. Matthew x.35 ("For I am come to set a man at variance against his father, etc.") is quoted to explain how it can be that a western man and his son can belong to different political parties without any sense of immorality, whereas a look at the context of the passage shows that the point of cleavage is in the personal faith of the follower of Christ, which itself sets under way the separation, just as the fact of light makes a shadow inevitable. In looking to Scripture, Professor Northrop might better have brought in the great prophetic utterances of Isaiah, Micah, and Jeremiah, relating to the time when "the nations will not learn war any more." Here is his thesis, and the basis of this peace is the knowing of the Lord.

The author's treatment of the concept of λογος deserves far more attention than can be given in a brief review of this kind. It must be sufficient to say here that he has not adequately taken into consideration the Philonic personalization of the λογος which is the philosophical basis for its identification with the "only begotten Son" in the first chapter of the Gospel of St. John. Full recognition of this might have helped the author to give due consideration to the redemptive aspects of the Christian faith which are centered in a personal λογος, instead of treating Christianity only as an ethical system.

A number of minor matters requiring correction may be noted: The Arabic and Urdu word for legal alms is *zakāt* not *zakah* (p. 171). The Greek word for art is τεχνη not τεκγη (p. 328). There cannot have been more than 100 or 105 million Muslims in India at most at the time of partition, not 120 million as given on p. 159. The "shot heard round the world" was fired at Concord, not at Bunker Hill. (p. 183).

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JAMES D. BROWN

Islamic Social Framework. By M. Raihan Sharif, Orientalia, 8 McLeod Road, Lahore, Pakistan, 1954, pp. 169 and Index.

Pakistani authors writing in English have in recent years sustained a vigorous apology for Islam with special emphasis on its social and

economic implications. This work by Professor Raihan Sharif adds another to the series. It is fairly representative of the main outlines of Islamic ideology and shares many of the elements of strength and weakness that characterize the writing of which it is a part. There is the strength of enthusiasm and vitality which seem, however, to provoke a certain optimistic tendency to generalisation. There is too the strength of confidence, but engendering a certain impetuousness of style that runs away both with language and precision. There are too many mixed metaphors and sentences which, for all their force, leave the reader still asking what was meant. Take this sentence: "But Islam, well-timed as it is with all tunes and rhythms of both body and soul, could serve as a most satisfactory balance between material and spiritual ends of life, in theory and in practice: and the wheels of progress and changes are well set to the prime-movers of the unchanging spirit." (p. 32) Earlier the author has asserted: "There is no such thing as theory and practice in the Islamic way of life." (p. 4.) What, again, is the reader to make of the eager English of this passage? (p. 10): "Thus it appears that the perturbing aftermath of the war, rather than the war itself, has tugged the components of the world towards the final self-analysis of boundless hope." The author assuredly means what he says: but does he convey what he means? This question besets the English reader to the end and the more goodwill he has to understand, the more he is perplexed.

It is not that the author fails to draw a wide canvas or to raise the broad issues of economic order, of Marxism and evolution, of the Islamic state and the Islamic socialism. All these are broached in eleven chapters that show a familiarity with western philosophers and theorists. (Though Kant, p. 22, never was foolish enough to teach that man should be used as an end only, never as a means!) The source of the perplexity lies deeper in the uneasiness the facile treatment arouses. A note of dogmatic, sanguine assurance pervades the argument. On the question of the attainability of the Islamic ideal, Professor Sharif recognises that life as Muslims often lead it does not conform as it should, but he also insists that for Islam "it is a concrete plan, not merely Aristotle's philosophizing, that good citizens of a state ought to be good men, too." (p. 22) "It is a plain truth," he goes on, "that Islamic idealism is not merely an ethereal minstrel. This skylark does not drop from the clouds off and on, but dwells on the mortal earth, to sing in full-throated ease. And the melodies are hidden in our strivings." (p. 23) But what when they fail, as all our strivings sometimes do, and as Muslim history, like all history, discloses? Lyricism does not answer this problem. And though in places Professor Sharif faces it, in references to the leeway that has to be made up and the morass into which decadence has brought some Muslims, there are other times when he seems to regard the intrusion of the problem of actuality as irrelevant, if not foolish. "Islam can as reasonably be blamed for inactivity and ill-development of the Muslim countries, in culture and in technological progress, as the moon can be for the varying phases of her visibility." (p. 33.) Is this to mean that the ideal Islam is subject in the nature of the case to waxing and waning? Does the human story

in fact look like an alternation of radiant ideology and flagrant obscurity? Is it not rather a constant tension between the good known and the evil chosen? And if so, is not the fact of evil relevant to the ideal of good and must not ideology, for the sake of its own integrity, face the question whether ideology alone is sufficient? And is not the source of non-conformity to the good a matter of import to the good itself? Can the light of what should be profess aloofness from what is?

These are the question which in all honesty surge below the surface of the text without being formulated and faced above it. It is little use to solve all the problems of human society, having first made inclusive assumptions about the issue of human nature which leave it unsolved. When the immense reservation involved in this criticism has been taken, reluctantly, by the reader, much of what follows in the book is unquestionably desirable and laudable — a spiritual idea of 'nation' for which the unit is the world; a social system that levels up and not down; the redistribution of wealth in a healthy collective spirit; the principle that all transactions should involve reciprocal benefits; the recognition of evolutionary forces; planning; the principles of faith, trust, morality, forgiveness, knowledge, prayer, mutual consultation, charity and self-preservation as the bases of statehood; and the postulates of economic trusteeship, economic co-operation, limited private property and state enterprise, particularly in relation to land problems — all these will find a warm echo in hearts everywhere. It is these principles which the author discusses with illustrations and injunctions from the Qurʾān. Many of them represent important areas of human responsibility where common action and concerted enterprise are possible between men and peoples of differing faiths. If, within Islam, the modern significance of the agelong Scripture and tradition is so apprehended then so much the more do we have in common. If, as Professor Sharif asserts, "centuries slept over such treasure secrets" (p. 168), it must be a matter of gratitude that he and many others are setting them forth so fervently to the present generation in Islam.

But what will remain a matter of regret to some readers, commensurate with their keen recognition of the author's ideological themes, is the fact that he leaves aside the underlying crux about how it shall be — the 'How?' beyond the 'What?' — and that here, for all his conversance with Darwin and Spencer and Wells, he seems unaware of the deep wrestling of Christian faith and thought, from S. Paul to the 20th century, with this conundrum of all ideology — Man, for whom law, exhortation, revelation, instruction, manifestly do not suffice. Or perhaps the reproach is ours, and not the author's, since we have so far failed to enter into the aspirations he proclaims, as to mediate to them the Gospel about man in Christ upon which in the end we believe they turn.

Hartford, Connecticut. KENNETH CRAGG.

Jerusalem, The Golden. By Denis O'Shea, Bruce Publishing Company, Milwaukee, 1954, pp. 145, $ 3.75.

The author is a parish priest from rural Ireland. A pilgrimage to the Holy Land has resulted in this book in which he presents himself as a guide to the Holy Places.

As the Jerusalem area is inhabited by peoples of many national origins and religions and visited by as many more, our guide was forced into daily contact with people who were strange to him in every way. While it is natural that anyone writing a guide book should wish to make it as interesting as possible by including personal impressions and incidents, in this instance it is a pity that the author did not leave at home his prejudices, suspicions and distrust of anything foreign or strange. The difficulty with this book is that these incidents, this "local color," obscure and push into the background all the Holy Places which are only incidentally described, as if they were merely the backdrop to the stage.

The Arabs receive the worst of it. The first chapter, "Natives of Nazareth," introduces us to a "wild-looking crew" who "resembled a gang of brigands" whom the author was afraid to join on a bus. Although they turn out to be poor but cheerful laborers, friendly and kindly, the beginning of each encounter is described in such a fashion, with the reader led to expect the worst.

But no one escapes. Arabs, Jews, Italian Catholics, Armenians, Copts, Greek Orthodox priests, mullahs, Americans, French Catholics *ad infinitum* are maligned in turn.

A visit to the birthplace of Jesus is thus described:
"The long-bearded celebrant intoned the Orthodox liturgy in a high, nasal voice, which seemed surprisingly loud in that hallowed place... I became alarmed when I noticed the baleful eye of the deacon fixed on me and the purposeful way in which he swung the swirling thurible. Now naturally I did not care to be knocked on the head 'accidentally.' I remembered the case of another Latin pilgrim. He had unwittingly trespassed upon what was exclusively Greek property, and had been beaten back by the blow of a heavy thurible. So I rose from my knees and hastily departed, lest a similar fate should befall me."

Any adventure-seeker who wanders by chance into this book, however, will be disappointed as the author is forced to conclude time and again that "these people were quite harmless," and no adventure ensues. However for his parishioners who want a little excitement, adventure is supplied by the historical background of every site visited. The details and description of massacre, conquest, violation, and pillage rival that of any best-selling historical novel in which history is similarly disorted.

It must be noted in all fairness, however, that the Christian conquerer of the "Muslim usurper" in each instance gets a lighter hand. While the victorious Muslim is described as entering the Church of the Holy Sepulchre "in his filthy clothes, a sheepskin cloak and a coarse cotton shirt, the wild leader of the wild men of the desert, the barbarian autocrat of a rival religion," the conquering Christian Emperor was "robed in the imperial regalia" and "carried the relic of the True Cross on his own shoulders."

Thus *Jerusalem, the Golden* emerges not as the "inspiring tour of the Holy Land" promised by the author in his preface, but as a tour of the Holy Places in which each visit to a shrine, and every trip to a church, is marred by prejudice, intolerance, ignorance, and bigotry.

New York, N.Y. DOROTHY GOODWIN

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Events of the recent past in the Muslim world have been wide in occurrence and deep in repercussions; the anti-Greek riots in Istanbul and Izmir and the consequent disquiet in, and about, Turkey; the uprisings in the southern Sudan, about which the American press has been unusually negligent; the sharpening of tensions and fears of explosion in the Arab-Israeli conflict; changes of leadership in Pakistan; disturbances in Eastern Aden and the Hadramaut; the deterioration of affairs in Cyprus and the collapse of efforts at settlement. In view of these and other unhappy aspects of current affairs it may be well to remind readers that these pages make no attempt at comment or documentation, both of which are beyond our competence. All that can be sought is to write in the margins of events and always with a eye for the less apparent aspects.

Islam and Muslim Nationalism. *Al-Islam,* the Karachi fortnightly, returned in August last to a theme that is inseparable from modern developments and is yet liable to be lost to sight both in East and West. It is the incompatibility of Islam and nationalism. Islam, says the Journal, should not be made the basis of a division between Indian nationals and Pakistani nationals, for in Islam all Muslims are brethren. Its editorial bewails the fact that "unfortunately the countries of the Islamic world have, almost without an exception, all adopted this disgraceful canker of Western civilization with the result that along with it all the vices of Western society have crept into the world of Islam." It adds: "It is simply foolish to create any links between the cultural heritage of Pharaonic Egypt, between the fire-worshippers of ancient Iran and the Muslim population of Iran today, between the Buddhist or non-Buddhist peoples of the ancient Indus basin and the Muslims of Pakistan." While thus vigorously denouncing nationalism as disloyal essentially to the genius of Islam, the paper does not explain what should be done about Pakistan and other creations of the 20th century will of Muslims to be nationalist. But this dilemma of contrasted, if sometimes co-operative, principles of cohesion is at least recognised — a fact which is not true of all Islamic opinion.

A Muslim commentator on Arnold Toynbee's "Study of History". Kemāl A. Farūkī, well-known for two small but discerning discussions of Pakistani Constitution-making and *Ijtihād,* assesses Toynbee's thought now that his *magnum opus* is complete. Writing in *Vision* (Karachi) Farūkī welcomes as akin to Quranic concepts Toynbee's idea of the movement in history. But he criticises, as a halt in advance of the goal, the historian's belief that history's meanings are consummated in Christ. Farūkī declares that only pure monotheism as embodied in Muslim *Tawḥīd* can be the proper goal of human history. Acknowledgement of "the Only-begotten Son" must, he argues, ultimately undermine monotheistic faith and open the door to retrogression. This he sees occurring in the capture of Byzantine Russia by Marxist Communism, which he holds to be due to "the extreme manner

in which Orthodox Christianity elevated the idea of the Sonship of Christ." Only monotheism can provide the principle of unity and to do so it must be uncompromised, i.e. it must be Islamic. Farūkī does not apparently reckon with the moral bases of Toynbee's exposition of the Lordship of Christ in history. Nor does he reckon, as so few Muslim thinkers do, with the monotheistic relevance of the Christian faith as to Christ's Sonship. He does not consider, in other words, how redemptive action in the human situation, such as Christianity believes to be at work in Christ, is indispensable to any adequate apprehension of, or faith in, a Divine Sovereignty that is veritably One and veritably sovereign.

There is a strange conclusion to Farūkī's analysis. Whereas some (as in the above item) have seen in Pakistan a departure from Islamic unity concepts, he sees it as a venture to make those concepts secure. "In this context, the withdrawal of Muslims from Delhi to work out Islamic concepts in Karachi may well appear, in its antagonism to all dilution of the sense of monotheistic unity — such as nationalism and secularism, — to be the most significant event of our times." Separatism obviates 'dilution'. But does it not also multiply nationalism? Must the supreme servants of unity be partitioners? It would be good to see further Islamic opinion on Toynbee's masterpiece. For his erudition has always been acutely sensitive of Muslim values and Islamic life and culture.

Imām Hatīp Schools in Turkey. There are at the present time some twelve of these schools in Turkey, resulting from the modification of Government policy towards Islamic education. They are semi-private in that the Government supplies only part of the operating costs. Hojas and Imāms give religious instruction, while regular 'orta' or middle-school subjects are taught by State trained teachers. The Government pays both while maintenance is supplied by private funds. The religious courses are accommodated by allowing an extra year beyond the normal length of middle school education. The Faculty of Theology at Ankara is the source of religious instructors, though local Imāms are also active. Arabic is taught as well as basic Islamics and some Ḥadīth. Since 1950 Arabic has been used in the mosques, though the sermons on Fridays are in Turkish, with texts and material supplied by the Government for village Hatīps.

The availability of these Imām Hatīp schools will be reflected in years to come in the rising religious leadership in Turkish Islam. These schools represent the readiest way to higher education for village boys and express also the desire of many private sponsors of boys to contribute to the religious future through the education of a young 'Imām.' The extension of the system to the secondary (Lycée) level will be developed in 1956. At present the only University door open to Imām Hatīp graduates is the Theological Faculty at Ankara. Future religious leaders should have a combination of religious and secular training. There seems in these schools to be an attempt to find a *via media* between the old religious monopoly of education and the sharp anticlerical, anti-religious temper of the early Ataturk régime. The

schools are very popular with the people. It is too early to ask what sort of intellectual enterprise in the expression of Islam may be generated by the fruits of this educational experiment.

Pilgrimage Roads. A net-work of high-grade roads has now been completed linking Mecca, Medina and Jiddah, affording new comfort and facility to pilgrims. The Jiddah-Mecca road is lined on both sides with young trees and regular police check posts have been built along it. There are also links from Mecca to Al-Minā, ᶜArafāt and Muzdalīfah where pilgrimage rites take place. At Medina two new wells have been dug to add to the city's water supply. Meanwhile the repair of mosques in both major cities continues energetically. King Saūd has personally undertaken the cost of some of these new construction projects, to the extent of 270,000 Egyptian pounds. A color-film of the Prophet's Mosque in Medina, now fully repaired, has been taken and will be available for showing in all Islamic countries. King Saᶜūd officiated at the opening ceremonies in October on conclusion of the extensive repairs. A project is under way for the extension of the Great Mosque in Mecca, involving the demolition of some adjacent property which has been purchased by the Crown.

Meanwhile agreement has been announced for the restoration of the Ḥijāz railroad. A joint technical committee from Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Syria, will solicit bids on the world market. A committee for maintenance will be established in due course with two members from each country. The estimated cost of the repair of the line and its inauguration will be 40 million Syrian pounds. The company winning the contract will be repaid by the three States in twelve yearly instalments. The latter will be re-imbursed from the income of the railroad over the same period of operation.

The Pilgrimage, A.H. 1374. The annual pilgrimage was reported this year to be entirely free of contagious diseases. A few pilgrims, however, died in Jiddah. The day of standing at ᶜArafāt fell this year on a Friday, and tradition holds that when this occurs the pilgrimage is worth seventy pilgrimages in years when ᶜArafāt day is other than Friday. *Umm al Qurā,* the official Meccan weekly, commented on this fact and exhorted incoming pilgrims to repent and wash themselves clean of all sins so that they might return to their homes "as sinless as on the day of their birth." King Saᶜūd in an address to several thousand pilgrims also alluded to the tradition.

Among the distinguished pilgrims were Aḥmad Sukarno, President of the Republic of Indonesia, the Egyptian Premier, ᶜAbd al-Nāsir, and the Lebanese Premier, Sāmī al-Ṣulḥ. These and other officials participated in a number of conferences after the pilgrim season. The High Council of the Islamic Congress held a session on August 4th and 5th.

Aḥmadiyyat Displeasure. The June 16th, 1955 issue of *The Light,* (Lahore) takes strong exception to the article by Stanley E. Brush *Aḥmadiyyat in Pakistan,* printed in the April, 1955 issue of this Quarterly. It complains because little mention is made of the Lahore

Aḥmadiyyat, with its long-standing mission in Woking, England. The article, however, as its sub-title indicates, was clearly meant to be a study of the Qadiānī Aḥmadiyyat and its new headquarters in Rabwah. That movement stands in direct, caliphal succession to Mirzā Ghulām Aḥmad. The concentration of the article on its announced theme implies no criticism or neglect of the Lahore Aḥmadiyyat movement, with which it did not claim, or intend, to deal. This Journal would be very happy to publish an objective study of the history and development of that branch at any time. It is saddened, however, by the sharp and bitter tone of *The Light*'s attitude, for the article is cited as an example of "systematic culture of hatred and ill-will depend(ing) on deliberate misrepresentation and mischievous propaganda." Nothing could be further from the intention or the spirit of our contributor's study. Surely *The Light* does not want to deny that those who were described and studied at Rabwah are Aḥmadiyyīn? Nor is the objective and balanced statement of the issues between Rabwah and orthodoxy implicit in the Punjab Disturbances Report "a positive incitement to sectarian hatred... strengthening the impression that American missionaries had much to do with those Disturbances." This Journal is content to be judged by its articles and editorials as to its attitude to Islam. We are dedicated to the sense of obligation in Christ towards all peoples, seeking to interpret the treasure of mind and heart we find in Him, with humility, courtesy, patience and openheartedness. We want to deserve that those attitudes may be reciprocated. In Christ we can do — and want — no other.

"The Road to Mecca." The Quarterly was unable to secure a review copy of this important work from the American publishers (Simon and Schuster). Its interest and purpose, however, are such as to merit careful readers. Better justice can perhaps be done to it here as an event of the quarter, rather than in a formal review. The book, it is true, was published in 1954 but to come to grips with it is certainly an event in the experience of the student who seeks to know Islam. It is not simply that the author is well-known for his travels and his oft-printed *Islam at the Crossroads* — a work of defence and apology characterized by a sharpness happily absent, in the main, from this larger, later work. Nor is it only that *The Road to Mecca* is so evidently the work of painstaking literary composition. Any discerning reader can appreciate the author's note about a long leave of absence for its completion. Nor is it only that the writer Muḥammad Asʿad is prominent in Muslim diplomatic circles and that he is intimately aware not only of his greatly-loved Arabia, but of Pakistan, the land he now serves, and Iran and North Africa. It is finally the quality of depth and sincerity in personal confession that marks this work as a significant document of contemporary Islam. Here are set forth the urges of soul and will that led a European Jewish journalist, Leopold Weiss as he then was, in his search for community and personal meaningfulness of life, into the embrace and confession of Islam.

Not that the book is without its puzzles and strangeness in some directions, even for the reader who brings the utmost sympathy for

what it reveals and confesses. There are, for example, occasions when the author's striving after style and literary force runs away with him and ends in bathos. We hear of camels with "apocalyptic forebodings" (p. 386). Or, after the most vivid and powerful description of swirling sand and hills ever changing their contours in the dust-filled haze, we read: "This is a sandstorm and no mistake." (p. 25.). But such weak passages are rare and when they occur give the reader a contrasted sense of the effective description the author has so consciously cultivated. More serious than these is the imaginative design of the whole work. Interlacing a thrilling travelogue are passages of philosophical reflection and snatches of autobiographical detail that have a tantalising incompleteness. Basically we are travelling to Mecca in the late summer of 1932 but we return at various points in that journey to Europe and the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. A letter carries us away reflectively to Persia: or we leave the company of the camp fire and Zaid or Abū Saʿīd to follow the fortunes of the Sanūsi in North Africa or the inner history of Al-Dawish's revolt against Ibn Saʿūd. It is not that these episodes lack interest and vigor of narrative. On the contrary. But the freedom with which the author treats the time sequence is disconcerting. No doubt this arises from his literary artistry and that is a sphere where the outsider can only take what he is offered and sympathetically seek to learn its spirit even where he feels disserved by its form. There remain important details of the author's experience and pilgrimage sacrificed to the mode of presentation, which are yet germane to the whole conclusion.

But it is finally as an odyssey of soul that *The Road to Mecca* must be studied, when the less travel-seasoned reader has duly recognised the odyssey of limb and endurance here described. (The narrative of desert thirst with which the book opens is surely one of the most effective and thrilling in such literature.) The spiritual quest and its goal in and unto Islam are the heart of this document. They have two sides — the bankruptcy of Western 'materialism' and the soul's cry for satisfaction and peace. There can be no mistaking the force and pathos of this account of the broken cisterns of European society after the First World War, as they seemed to a keen mind, reared in the tradition of Judaism and intellectually adrift in the generation that was young with the treaty of Versailles. Many of the factors which the author cites as justifying his disquiet and dismay about his Western heritage are both valid and authentic, in so far as they are true — the lack of a universal religious range, the hollowness of conformity, the poverty of secular living, the desolation of aimlessness. "To seek refuge" from these, as the Muslim phrase has it, would be the wisdom of every tortured and awakened heart. But it is precisely here, where the book is most eloquently true, that there emerges the first aspect of a dual incompleteness — the partiality with which it ascribes a universal malady and the inability to relate the essentials of its diagnosis to the realm where it discovers the remedy. If this criticism seems hard, it holds no implication that sincerity is at stake. On the contrary. It is perhaps the very strength of the sincerity here displayed that explains the impression of a mistaken concentration of

wrongness 'there' and salvation 'here.' This double consequence of one mental attitude deserves further exposition.

The reader finds it hard to escape the conclusion that in his state of 'lostness' so movingly portrayed and so authentic in its ring, the author did not sufficiently assess the spiritual resources available in the West — and reflected indeed, had he seen it, in his very capacity to detect its failures. He is consequently led into sweeping generalizations about the faiths and heritage of western civilization. "I was," he writes, "deeply enmeshed in that self-absorbed, culturally egocentric mentality *so characteristic of the West at all times.*" The Chapter entitles *Dajjāl* (The Evil One) expounds western civilization as the apotheosis of evil, totally given over to the worship of material things and entirely devoid of any sentiments that are unselfish. "Where I had come from, people were accustomed to build walls between You and I: this, however, (Islam) was community without walls." (p. 373). That sense of the denial by society of personal meaning may reflect the author's bitter experiences of youth and it should be reckoned with as a protest of soul that no sound mind would discount. But it is far from being a complete or total account of the travail and the truth within the story of European man.

Did Muḥammad Asᶜad's sense of bankruptcy arise only from the discovery of what to him was the contrast of Islam? Perhaps. But that is not to say that he could not have discovered in the heart of the European heritage from Athens and Jerusalem the same capacity to apprehend the pilgrim quality of human life and to know the earth-transcending vocation of the soul of man. If in point of fact the author finds these glories in Islam, he need not discount or deny their presence elsewhere or erect the shape of his own personal revulsion from one realm and his nostalgic embracing of another into a total metaphysical distinction of quality, that damns the one and exalts the other.

It becomes clear to the patient reader that the writer, perhaps for biographical reasons that to him were irresistible, quite failed to take the measure of either the Jewish or the Christian tradition. He dismisses his own Hebrew Prophets, as Islam in general historically does, without a reckoning with their intense significance for Prophethood everywhere, their stirring universalism and their heroic protest against a faith that is divorced from social meaning and active righteousness. Seeing that the latter is a particular emphasis of the author, it is strange that he did not discover it in Amos and Isaiah or that he could write that only Islam "unfolded before the world the vision of a political organization in which God-consciousness would be the mainspring of man's practical behavior and the sole basis of all social institutions." (p. 323). In his broad treatment of Christianity, which is more allusive than systematic, the main criticism is directed against alleged Christian "otherworldliness" and the Christian divorce between soul and body. But can one assert otherworldliness in Christianity who ponders authentically the meaning of the faith of the Incarnation — though this be the great Christian conviction that Islam denies? For the faith of Christ Incarnate makes Christianity in the proper sense

the most 'materialist' of all religions, since it believes that this realm of time and things has become the arena of the redemptive disclosure and action of the Divine.

The yearning this book inspires, then, is for a reckoning with the faiths alongside Islam in the same readiness to understand that the writer displays towards Islam and a sterner caution against attributing a totality of wrongness in one quarter. The sad and moving description of the hopelessness of human selfishness displayed on the faces in a Vienna bus, which the author on p. 330 presents as a pivotal episode in his journey into Islam, could justly be paralleled in any city, East or West. Since it portrays a malady which is human, not geographical, it could be discerned by any awakened participant in humanity in any earthly latitude.

In a well-reasoned passage in the final chapter in which he discusses Islam's reactions to western technology, Muḥammad Asʿad points out that science is a universal, and that in the past the Muslim world taught Europe the antecedents of its current technological advances. He wisely adds that Muslims follow an evolutionary instinct in availing themselves of other men's experiences. (p. 372). But need this right instinct to hearken to the meaning of other men's minds be limited only to the realm of scientific knowledge? Are men meant to be inter-dependent scientifically and entirely self-sufficient and isolated religiously? For Islam, as this author sees it, has no need beyond itself and has in perfect custody what all men beyond it fail miserably to possess. This may be legitimate as revulsion. It is not valid as final conviction.

These considerations have led already into the other side of the incompleteness of this intimate odyssey of soul. If the writer discounts as non-existent what he failed to find elsewhere, he also seems to exalt as unique the new that he has found. Perhaps men should not criticize their salvation, though in the end the power to do so may be part of it. But Muḥammad Asʿad at any rate is on the defensive. Islam, he claims, is unsympathetically misunderstood in the West — a fact from which so much else springs. There may be much truth in this charge, though it has also to reckon with long, deep, painstaking Islamics, often inspired by profound sympathy. It is after all over a century since Carlyle. But even where Islam is superciliously misunderstood in the West, this misunderstanding is no greater in volume or obtuseness than the misunderstanding in which for centuries Muslims have regarded Christianity. Competitive assessments of misunderstandings are, of course, futile. But at least the picture needs balance. While the author assails the West for a cultural pride and self-sufficiency which may in part be worthy of his condemnation, he appears to proceed from a reciprocal monopoly of the true. If only the insights which here opened the road to Mecca could take open counsel with the mind of Christ!

The author, too, seems to rely, like so much contemporary Muslim writing, on the sufficiency of Islam as ethic and as ideal, despite the recognised deficiency of actuality. As long as this view is taken there is no opening up the whole fruitful realm beyond law, no pondering

the immense significance of human sin and the pattern of retrieval whereby the Divine sovereignty over-rules and saves it.

The foregoing is far from exhausting the pull and the path of this remarkable book. It deserves the warm, prayerful contemplation of the Christian. But on that note of meaning and actuality, let the writer in conclusion speak for himself:

"An integrated image of Islam was now emerging with a finality, a decisiveness that sometimes astounded me. It was taking shape by a process that could only be described as a kind of mental osmosis — that is, without any conscious effort on my part to piece together or systematize the many fragments of knowledge that had come my way during the past four years. I saw before me something like a perfect work of architecture, with all its elements harmoniously conceived to complement and support each other, with nothing superfluous and nothing lacking — a balance and composure that gave one the feeling that everything in the outlook and postulates of Islam was in its proper place."

"Thirteen centuries ago a man had stood up and said: 'I am only a mortal man: But He who has created the universe has bidden me to bear His message to you. In order that you may live in harmony with the plan of His creation, He has commanded me to remind you of His existence, omnipotence and omniscience, and to place before you a program of behaviour. If you accept this reminder and this program, follow me.' This was the essence of Muhammad's prophetic mission..."

"I had no illusions as to the present state of affairs in the Muslim world. The four years I had spent in those countries had shown me that while Islam was still alive, perceptible in the world view of its adherents and in their silent admission of its ethical premises, they themselves were like people paralyzed, unable to translate their beliefs into fruitful action. But what concerned me more than the failure of present-day Muslims to implement the scheme of Islam were the potentialities of that scheme itself. It was sufficient for me to know that for a short time, quite at the beginning of Islamic history, a successful attempt had been made to translate that scheme into practice: and what had seemed possible at one time might perhaps become really possible at another. What did it matter, I told myself, that the Muslims had gone astray from the original teaching and subsided into ignorance and indolence. What did it matter that they did not live up to the ideal placed before them by the Arabian Prophet thirteen centuries ago — if the ideal itself still lay open to all who were willing to listen to its message?" (pp. 321-325).

In those sentences the author certainly utters the fervent mind of contemporary Islamic apology. Surely part of our Christian relationship lies in keeping open the further question whether the openness of an ideal is all that this human situation requires, or the Divine authority offers — a wondering in the soul that is strengthened when the author goes on quickly to add, speaking of the world in which he found himself: "I did not believe that individual man was in need of 'salvation'; but I did believe that modern society was..." (p. 326). Whether or not society will ever be set right apart from the persons who compose it, *The Road to Mecca* is a vivid literary epitome of one such personal experience of need. In witness to the community of religious law, whither that search led, the Christian Church as the community of Divine redemption will be all the more wistful and wise for a careful openhearted reckoning with the insights and aspirations of this remarkable book. "Man has always loved to travel far on the roads of his spirit, here in Arabia no less than in the rest of the world." (p. 396). That 'no less' as a plea may be gladly conceded. This work, if nothing else, would compel it. But the Christian "rest of

the world" has still a trust of relevance for the feet that walk the Meccan road.

Miscellanea. The Egyptian Minister of Education, Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusain announced in September that co-education would be permitted in Egyptian secondary schools. For the first time girls would be allowed to study alongside boys, provided that each girl had the written consent of her parents and that there was no girls' school available in the area.

In December last the new Egyptian law came into force abolishing all religious courts for Muslims and Copts. The law directs that all matters of personal status — divorce, inheritance, waqfs etc — are to be handled by civil courts.

Muslim polygamy has created complications in the administration of British Family Allowances payable to mothers with more than one child. Polygamy not being recognised in English law, the Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance is unable to pay the allowance in the case of plural wives. The situation has been the subject of protest to the British Government by Pakistan and by several Muslim bodies in Britain.

It is reported that Al-Azhar students are abandoning the traditional robes and wearing western style dress. One of the ᶜUlamaᵓ who closed his class to students not traditionally garbed evoked a student protest against the guards placed outside his class-room. The students successfully vindicated their right to admission.

Meanwhile another Shaikh was summoned before the Al-Azhar disciplinary council to answer allegations that he had argued in a Cairo newspaper article that fasting was not obligatory in Islam.

Crude oil production in the Middle East reached a record level during the first half of 1955, being 10 per cent above the total for 1954 during the same period. 79 million metric tons were produced with Kuwait the leading producer, its 27,600,000 metric tons exceeding Saudi Arabia by more than 4½ million metric tons. Iran produced a little under 7 m. tons during the same half year.

The Soviet Government has invited Al-Azhar University to send a delegation to visit the US.S.R., according to a report of Radio Mecca.

The Ruler of Kuwait has announced that funds deposited in his name in London and the United States and the profits accruing from oil will hence forward be under the control of the Financial Department of the Government of Kuwait and will be regarded as State funds.

Umm al-Qurā, Mecca, reports: "HM the King issued orders to HR Shaikh ᶜAbd al Malik ibn ᶜAbd al-Laṭīf, head of the Committee of Public Morality, to send religious teachers to all prisons in order to explain to prisoners the divine philosophy of punishments for various crimes. Thus when the prisoners have served their terms they will leave prison with a full understanding of God's law and will obey it."

An Arab Graduates' Conference was held in Jerusalem in September with some five hundred delegates from Universities in the Arab states. The President was ᶜĀdil ᶜUsairān, Speaker of the Lebanese Parliament and the Secretary Emile al Bustānī, a Lebanese Deputy. The Egyptian

delegation was led by the Minister of Waqfs, Ḥasan al Baqūrī. The Conference voted among other things, to strengthen Arab armies, avoid all blocs, eastern and western and tighten the Israeli blockade. The reported recommendations did not include any vigorous examination of the obligations of intellectual leadership in the present Arab situation. A moving and forceful address, however, on this theme was delivered by Dr. Fāiz Ṣāyigh of the Arab Information Center, New York, at the Fourth Annual Convention of the Arab Students' Organization in the U.S.A. This body met at Madison, Wisconsin, in September and was attended by about 150 Arab students. Dr Ṣāyigh's theme was "Self Examination and Arab Youth."

The Oxford University Press has been requested by the Pakistan Government, and has agreed, to remove from future editions of its Junior Encyclopaedia a reproduction of an old (Muslim) print depicting the Angel Gabriel giving the Qurʾān to the Prophet.

Syrian Presidency. Six years after his ouster by the former dictator Ḥusnī al-Zaʿīm, Shukry al-Quwayṭlī was elected in September last by the Syrian Parliament as President of the Republic. He received 91 votes on a second ballot to 41 cast for his chief opponent, the then Foreign Minister, Khālid al-ʿAdhm. Thus the wheel comes round full circle after two successive interruptions in Syria of constitutional processes. The legal term of the new President will be four years. The new President assumed the duties of Commander in Chief of the Syrian Armed Forces on his inauguration in September. He affirmed his opposition to defense pacts in any form.

A Fellowship of Christian Writers in the Near East has been formed with Mr. Ḥabīb Saʿīd as Secretary and headquarters at 36 Shāriaʿ al-Jalā, Cairo. It has a membership of 30 Arab authors, 20 of whom are in Cairo. Its first annual book appeared in August with fourteen contributors. The theme of the 1956 "annual" will be "Christianity in the Middle East."

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

By Sue Molleson Foster

I. GENERAL

À propos des traductions en turc osmanli des textes religieux chrétiens. Jean Deny. *Die Welt des Islams,* Leiden. 1955. part 1. pp. 30-39. Covers the subject from the 16th century, when the first translation of the Bible was made, through the 19th.

Afro-Asian Conference prospects. Philip Mason. *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. April, 1955. pp. 165-175. The author believes the wish for the Conference comes from feelings of humiliation and frustration among many of the participants, due to their long subjection to the white race, and from a desire to do something important *on their own.*

The Avicenna millenary celebrations in Persia. Laurence Lockhart. *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. January, 1955. pp. 65-69. Prefaced by a sketch of the life and work of the great Persian thinker, the article tells of the proceedings at the Congress which was attended by specialists from many lands.

"Calypso" explores for underwater oil. Capt. Jacques-Yves Cousteau. *The National Geographic Magazine,* Washington, D.C. August, 1955. pp. 155-184. Describes a geological survey under the Persian Gulf off the former pirate coast of Trucial Oman.

The concept of Time in the religious philosophy of Muḥammad Iqbāl. Alessandro Bausani. *Die Welt des Islams,* Leiden. 1954, part 3-4. pp. 158-186. A study of the deductions of Iqbāl and Bergson on time and immortality.

Cultural and intellectual history of Indian Islam. M. Hamiddullah. *Die Welt des Islams,* Leiden. 1954, part 3-4. pp. 127-144. Sketches accomplishments, through thirteen centuries, in literature (including publishing and periodicals), writing, education and art.

Kabīr, poet and mystic. The Rev. Roland Stahl. *Hibbert Journal,* London. July, 1955. pp. 350-358. Revered alike by Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus and born of a Sūfī father and a Hindu mother, the great Kabīr taught the life of love lived limitlessly in this world.

Muḥammad Iqbāl, 1873-1938. A Schimmel. *Die Welt des Islams,* Leiden. 1954, part 3-4. pp. 145-157. Commemorating the 15th anniversary of Iqbāl's death, the author discusses the numerous books and articles which have appeared dealing with the man himself and with his poetical and philosophical writings.

Water from the desert. G. W. Murray. *The Geographical Journal,* London. June, 1955. pp. 171-181. Describes constructions by the ancient Egyptians and Persians and work done in the later Graeco-Roman period.

II. HISTORY OF ISLAM

The concept of an Islamic Republic. Bernard Lewes. *Die Welt des Islams.* Leiden. 1955, part 1. pp. 1-9. Stirred by the creation

of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, the author presents a study of the development of the word for republic, "jumhūriyyat", first needed for use in Napoleon's time.

THE CRUSADES: OLD IDEAS AND NEW CONCEPTIONS. Aziz Suryal Atiya. *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale*, Paris. 1954, part 2. pp. 469-475. Looks upon the Crusades as a universal movement of western Christendom against Pan-Islam — a world controversy enriching East and West alike in results.

INDIAN MUSLIMS. Humayu Kabir. *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale*, Paris. 1954, part 2. pp. 476-484. An historical sketch of a thousand years of Muslim cultural influence.

L'ISLAM EN AUSTRALIE ET EN OCÉANIE. Ismail H. Okday. *Die Welt des Islams*, Leiden. 1954, part 3-4. pp. 235-253. A statistical article with bibliography.

KIRGIZIA. *Asian Review*, London. January, 1955. pp. 70-78. Deals with the Uighur and Dungan minorities, both 19th century emigrants from China and both practicing Muslims.

THE MUSLIMS OF AMERICA. Nadim al-Maqdisi. *The Islamic Review*, Woking. June, 1955. pp. 28-31. There are 80,000 Muslims and 12 mosques in the United States and Canada, stemming in part from Alexander Russell Webb who was converted in 1888.

NOTES ON ḤILLA AND THE MAZYADIDS IN MEDIEVAL ISLAM. George Makdisi. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Baltimore. December, 1954. pp. 249-262. A thoroughly documented study of the foundation of this ancient city, not far from Baghdad.

SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA. Eric Downton. *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. April, 1955. pp. 128-137. Islam is still stubbornly resisting Communist efforts to stifle religion, — efforts successful however with some of the younger people, Jewish as well as Muslim.

III. QUR'ĀN, TRADITION, THEOLOGY

'ABDALQĀHIR'S THEORY IN HIS "SECRETS OF ELOQUENCE". Muhammad Khalafallāh. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Chicago. July, 1955. pp. 164-167. A psychological approach to the work of this 11th century Muslim rhetorician.

ISLAM AND ARAB NATIONALISM. 'Abdal-Raḥmān al-Bazzāz. *Die Welt des Islams*, Leiden. 1954, part 3-4. pp. 210-218. Translation of an address given in 1952 to Nādī al-Ba'th al-'Arabī of Baghdad and concluding with the thought that "Arab nationalism, devoid of the spirit of Islam, is like a body without a soul."

IV. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

AGRARIAN REFORM IN EGYPT. *Asian Review*, London. January, 1955. pp. 79-81. Detailed description of the way the law, promulgated in 1952, operated with the help of the Coöperative Societies' Higher Committee and in harmony with U.N. recommendations.

DEVELOPMENTS IN KUWAIT. E.A.V. De Candole. *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. January, 1955. pp. 21-29. Tells of extensive plans for irrigation and housing and of the already existing advances in

education and medical care — all due to the far-sighted Shaikh ᶜAbdallah's wise use of the immense oil revenues.

Developments in the Negev. Norman Bentwich. *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London, April, 1955. pp. 176-183. Emphasises the reclamation of the desert, the crops grown and the ever-increasing settlements.

Egyptian technology, science and lore. J. W. Wilson. *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale* Paris. 1954, part 1. pp. 209-213. Traces Egyptian influence in the Graeco-Roman world, in Israel and in many Christian ideas.

En terre d'Islam. J. Em. Janot. *Rythmes du Monde,* Paris. Tome 3, numero 1. pp. 52-61. Describes the rise of the Muslim Brotherhood under Ḥasan al Banna in 1934 and its development to the present day.

The French Empire in Africa A. Z. Rubinstein. *Current History,* New York. May, 1955. pp. 288-294. Lack of a stable government in France, capable of long-range planning and containing fine administrators, constantly imperils the country's North African control.

Growth and development of nationalism in Tunisia. Edward Karabenick. *World Affairs Interpreter,* Los Angeles. Summer, 1955. pp. 211-216. An historical sketch dealing mainly with the Neo-Destour Party under the leadership of Ḥabib Bourguiba.

Impressions of Egypt and the Sudan. M. Philips Price. *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. April, 1955. pp. 138-149. The author finds considerable progress in economic reform in Egypt, but the Sudan is restless and open to exploitation.

Israel after seven lean years. G. L. A. *The World Today,* London. June, 1955. pp. 238-245. Surveys all phases of the financial and economic situation finding grounds for satisfaction as well as for concern.

Israël, an VIII. Michel Ulrich. *Études,* Paris. Juillet-Aôut, 1955. pp. 51-62. Sympathizes with the Arab refugees, urges their acceptation of the State of Israel as a *fait accompli,* and praises Israel for its accomplishments.

La lutte des Algériens contre la faim. Dom Alexandre Gillès de Pélichy. *Rythmes du Monde,* Paris. Tome 3, numero 1. pp. 62-69. Account, with statistics, of the great undernourishment of the masses and the need for the government to practice social Christianity instead of grasping materialism.

Middle-Eastern oil: blessing or curse? Brig. S. H. Longrigg. *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. April, 1955. pp. 150-164. Stresses the need for more technical education, for governmental self-control in apportioning vast revenues and in systematically building up reserves of capital for possible reverses of fortune.

Moors and Canary Islanders of the coast of the Western Sahara. Jean Robin. *The Geographical Journal,* London. June 1955. pp. 158-163. Tells of the Imraguen fishers, who have operated in the area since the 16th century whose technique was first described by a Portuguese traveller, Valentine Fernandez, and among whom to-day are many arisocratic Beduins.

New trends in Iran. Sir Clarmont Skrine. *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. April, 1955. pp. 100-115. Returning after an absence of six years, the author found tremendous advances in road building, aviation, general industries and oil production; also an enlightened policy of land distribution instituted by the Shāh.

On the Indo-Pakistan border. Ian Stephens. *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. April, 1955. pp. 184-188. Deals mainly with the danger to the fertility of Bahawalpur by Indian diversion of water from the Sutlej and Beas rivers.

The origins of Turkish political parties. Kerim Kami Key. *World Affairs Interpreter,* Los Angeles. Spring, 1955. pp. 49-60. Beginning with the inception of the "Tanzimat" in 1839, the author traces the various developments through the emergence of the Democratic Party and the election of Celal Bayar.

Pakistan. *The Round Table,* London. June, 1955. pp. 282-285. Discusses the need for a Constituent Convention of sixty members to frame a constitution and to try to cope with political intrigue.

Some health problems of India and Pakistan. Lieut.-Gen. Sir Bennett Hance, *Asian Review,* London. January, 1955. pp. 12-29. Reports progress and careful planning, but the water situation, sewage disposal and the appalling refugee problem need immediate attention. The cost of improvement will be great.

A stereotype of agriculture in semi-arid Turkey. Nicholas Helburn. *The Geographical Review,* New York. July, 1955. pp. 375-384. Describes the villages, the agricultural pattern, the methods and the crops in nine provinces; accompanied by map and statistics.

Turkey today. Lord Kinross. *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. January, 1955. pp. 38-50. Characterizing Turkey as the eastern outpost of Europe, the article tells of great advances in general education, mechanization, communications and the feel of democracy and praises American aid for helping to achieve such progress.

V. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

The Arab League, 1945-1955. B. Y. Boutros-Ghālī. *International Conciliation.* New York. May, 1955. pp. 385-448. A complete account of the League and its activities, the author finding that, although imperfect, it symbolizes Arab unity and is their first non-Western international organization.

The Bandung Conference and Islam. G. Neville-Bagot. *The Islamic Review,* Woking. June, 1955. pp. 5-6; 19-27. The unanimous pronouncements regarding Israel, the refugee settlement and French West Africa resulted in a Muslim-Arab victory.

British interests in Palestine in the nineteenth century. A. L. Tibawi *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. January, 1955. pp. 70-79. Deals with activities in religion, education and politics in a Palestine forming, at that time, part of the Ottoman Empire.

Dividing the waters. *The Round Table,* London. June, 1955. pp. 240-248. Treats of the canal question in the Punjab with its accompanying Indo-Pakistani difficulties and also with the plan of

Mr. David Lilienthal and the World Bank to treat the Indus River Basin as a whole, irrespective of political frontiers.

EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND ARAB NATIONALISM IN MANDATORY PALESTINE. A. L. Tibawi. *Die Welt des Islams,* Leiden. 1955, part 1. pp. 15-29. A critical study of the problems of the period.

FRENCH NORTH AFRICA: A DIPLOMATIC DILEMMA. Lorna H. Hahn. *World Affairs Interpreter.* Los Angeles. Spring, 1955. pp. 90-100. Briefly surveys the present situation in which the United States is also involved.

MIDDLE EASTERN DEFENCE. *Round Table,* London. March, 1955. pp. 130-137. Discusses Britain's agreement with Egypt and the Turko-Iraqi treaty, showing how these two transactions have strengthened Middle East defence.

SOVIET POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST. George Lenczowski. *Journal of International Affairs,* New York. 1954, part 1. pp. 52-61. Summarizes developments since 1945, finding the main course of action to be directed toward weakening all ties with the West—a move the West can only counter by eliminating poverty, disease and corruption in general.

VI. MISSIONS TO MUSLIMS

ANNUAL REPORT NUMBER. *Arabia Calling,* New York. Spring, 1955. Whole issue. Presents a varied picture of opportunities lost through lack of money, staff and equipment and progress made with the inadequate means at hand.

THE SUDAN AND CATHOLIC LIFE. E. Mason, F. S. C. J. *World Mission,* New York. Summer, 1955. pp. 216-224. Christianity, after having flourished in the Sudan for about a thousand years before the Arab penetration, was reintroduced in 1846 by the Roman Catholic Church and is now active again with 548 priests, sisters and brothers working in 68 establishments.

WAZIRISTAN. Dr. A. D. Iliff. *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. January, 1955. pp. 30-37. Describes the Church's work through mission hospital, school and church to curb the tragic blood feuds between the Mahsuds and the Pathans.

The publication of RESEARCH ON THE MIDDLE EAST, 1955, the findings of a survey conducted by the Middle East Institute, is announced for January 1956. A work of some 250 pages, it comprises 1,018 entries giving information on projects now going forward in the fields of Geography, History and Archaeology, Political Science, Economics, Social Relations (sociology, anthropology, etc.), Law, Philosophy and Religion, Literature, Art, History of Science, and Linguistics. Price: $ 2.50. Address orders to: Survey of Current Research, The Middle East Institute, 1761 N Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C., U.S.A.